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THE TARIFF A LIVE ISSUE.

HAS the tariff issue finally disappeared from politics? To the casual observer it would seem that it had. The almost unparalleled prosperity, under existing tariff laws, that has marked the administration of President McKinley, the acknowledged leader of the protectionist's school of politics, would seem to give force to such a belief.

At present the public mind is absorbed in the questions rising from the Spanish-American War; and the political agitators, instead of discussing whether the rate of duty on steel rails is too high or too low, or whether an *ad valorem*, instead of a specific, duty should be imposed on our woollen importations, are now discussing what shall be done with the Philippines, what kind of legislation shall be enacted for Puerto Rico, and what will be the future of Cuba. In their very nature these problems are temporary. They may be settled before the issue is made, between the two great political parties in the country, in the presidential campaign of 1900. At most, they cannot reach beyond that campaign. New issues, now unforeseen, may arise which will absorb the public thought to the exclusion of the tariff; but if the future may be judged from the past nothing is liable to arise that will permanently displace the tariff as an issue in our political campaigns.

Students of political economy, as well as manufacturers, whose interests are directly affected by legislation, deprecate political agitation of the tariff. Many suggestions have been made to eliminate it from politics. Chief among these is the establishment of a permanent commission, composed of able and skilled men, whose sole business it should

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be to watch the workings of existing tariff laws and, by timely suggestions to Congress, to secure non-partisan legislation that would destroy all inequalities in protective duties, and secure to the government the largest revenue consistent with the best interests of all affected by such legislation.

It has been found, however, that such a commission is not feasible. The Federal Constitution does not recognize such a body. Under the Constitution all legislation on this subject is remitted to the House of Representatives and the Senate. It has been observed that the Members of Congress are very jealous of their powers and prerogatives; and would quickly resent interference. A commission with the power of amending or in any way modifying tariff laws could not be created under the Constitution: the most that could be done would be to make recommendations to Congress. The charge would soon be made that it was partisan or inefficient; and the national legislators would ignore such recommendations altogether, or use them in partisan debate, as they have used the reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury from the time of the report of Secretary of the Treasury Walker to the present.

One of the strong arguments used in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was that the union of the States would enable the Federal Government to secure uniformity in our custom duties, and an easy and indirect way to support the government as well as to pay off the debt contracted in the War of the Revolution.

Before the Constitution was adopted, and after the independence of the colonies had been acknowledged by Great Britain, it was the boast of the younger Pitt that he had reconquered the colonies commercially and had made them far more dependent upon England than they were before securing their political independence. Under his administration laws were passed to prevent the development of manufactories in the United States and to paralyze efforts to establish and maintain an American merchant marine. The condition of the people of the various colonies was much worse than it had been under the rule of Great Britain, when the colonies were political dependencies.

James Madison, to whose efforts more than to those of any other among the fathers of the Republic is due the honor of framing the Constitution and of securing its adoption by the several colonies, advocated and approved the first tariff bill adopted by Congress. It was the second law passed by the first Congress to assemble under the Constitution, and its preamble stated:

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"Whereas, it is necessary for the support of the Government, the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandises imported."

The consideration of this bill developed the first great debate on the wisdom and justice of a protective rate of duties.

The first Congress was composed of men of exceptional ability. In the House of Representatives, where the bill originated, it was assailed both on its protective features and on its system of levying duties. By some members the *ad valorem* were preferred to the specific rates; and all the arguments were advanced which have become so familiar to this generation through the consideration of the McKinley, Wilson, and Dingley Bills. Under the skilful leadership of James Madison the bill became a law. The tariff question has since been political, and has led to many a heated and acrimonious debate. It is needless to say, therefore, that a question which has been more often and ably debated in and out of Congress than any other issue since the adoption of the Federal Constitution cannot permanently drop out of politics.

That little is said about the tariff issue at the present time is no evidence that it has disappeared from politics. At several different periods during the course of our history Congress has adjusted the tariff law in the hope of permanently settling it. This was notably the case in the famous Compromise Act of March 2, 1833, advocated by Mr. Clay, the foremost protectionist of his day. This act provided a sliding scale whereby all duties in excess of 20 per cent should be abolished within a period of ten years. It had the desired effect in meeting the demands of the Southern leaders, and it was accepted by a large majority of the people of this country as a permanent settlement of the question. The financial crisis of 1837, and a period of industrial and commercial distress that followed, not unlike that of 1893–5, produced a political revolution, leading, in 1840, to the election of Gen. Harrison as President; and the Whig party that came into power with Gen. Harrison enacted the tariff legislation of 1842, a marked protective measure.

In the presidential election of 1844 the restoration to power of the Democratic party again made the tariff a live issue; and under the skilful guidance of Robert J. Walker, President Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, the free-trade tariff of 1846 was passed by Congress. That act, and a still further reduction in the rates of duty provided for in the act of 1857, aroused such a feeling of hostility to the Democratic party in the industrial States that the tariff question became an impor-

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tant factor in the presidential campaign of 1860. Had Pennsylvania elected a Democrat for Governor in October then Mr. Lincoln would not have been elected President, and the Civil War would have been postponed at least another presidential term. No State had been more loyal to her Democratic traditions than Pennsylvania.

The platform framed by the Republican leaders in the convention at Chicago which nominated Mr. Lincoln for President declared also for protection; and it was this recognition of protection that enabled the Republicans of Pennsylvania, under the masterful leadership of Andrew G. Curtin, to make that State Republican and cause her to cast her electoral vote for Mr. Lincoln. Since that time the position of the two great political parties of this country has been clearly defined on this issue.

The Republican party has steadfastly stood for protection of American labor and home industries. The Democratic party has been consistent in its opposition to Republican legislation on this subject; and the leaders, to judge from their public utterances during the discussion of the Dingley Bill, while it was being considered in the House and Senate, are now more outspoken for free trade than they were at any time in the history of the party. While free silver was the slogan of that party in the presidential campaign of 1896, Mr. Bryan's record on the tariff issue was well known to the laboring people of this country; and his free-trade views had as much to do in encompassing his defeat as had his advocacy of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

One of the principal reasons why the tariff issue has been so prominent in politics is, that the wonderful industrial growth in our country has necessitated frequent revisions of any tariff law enacted by Congress. Our industrial development since 1860 has been the marvel of the world. Consequently, a fair and equitable adjustment of the rates of duties at the time when any one of the great tariff measures of the last thirty years became a law developed a few years later gross inequalities in the different schedules, due, of course, to the changed trade conditions resulting from the multiplication of the manufacturing industries in this country, their growth and improvement, and to the changed trade conditions in foreign countries.

The McKinley law, by reason of its reciprocity feature, marked a new condition on this issue. The trade benefits resulting to the people of this country from reciprocity agreements enacted under that provision created a desire for a wider application of the principle in

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our tariff legislation. This was sought to be met in the Dingley Bill by enacting the reciprocity features of that bill. To all students of industrial conditions, however, it is apparent that, in that act, the power of the President is too limited. The next revision of the tariff will see the principle of reciprocity made the leading feature of the tariff bill.

The present administration, in the successful prosecution of the war in the Philippines, needs all the money that can be raised from revenues derived from custom duties and the internal revenue law. But when this extraordinary expense shall cease, and when the daily expenses of the government shall reach a normal condition, the people who now patiently pay the taxes imposed under the Internal Revenue War Act will ask to be relieved from some of the burdens of that law. When that time shall come the old question will again present itself as to the best method of raising revenues for the support of the government. The Democratic party, through its leaders, will advocate either an income tax or the retention of the war taxes, and will demand a revision of the present so-called Dingley law in the levying and collecting of custom duties. In the presidential campaign of 1900 this issue may not be of controlling force. That it will be a controlling force in 1904 is almost certain.

In political revolution taxation has ever been a controlling factor. This fact has been conspicuously illustrated among the English-speaking people. If Charles I of England had conceded to Parliament the right to levy and collect taxes used in the support of his government he would not have lost his throne and his head. George III would not have lost his American possessions had he permitted the colonies to assess and collect the taxes they were required to pay as dependencies of Great Britain.

The United States, so long as it exists under the Federal Constitution, will require a large revenue to pay the expenses of maintaining the government. The manner in which the taxes providing these revenues shall be levied, collected, and paid will ever be a live issue. One class of men forming themselves into a political organization will contend for an indirect taxation, which is one of the features of tariff legislation. Another class, equally patriotic, will maintain that the burdens of the government can be best discharged by levying and collecting revenues through our internal revenue system, or by an income tax, or both.

ALBERT J. HOPKINS.

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GERMAN ART OF TO-DAY.

THERE have been persons who have believed in the possibility of constructing a sort of universal art—an art which should appeal to all nations alike. This they thought might be accomplished by means of an extremely simple process; namely, by the obliteration and elimination of all heterogeneous features. No one to-day, however, anticipates practical results from so deliberately planned, and conventionally constructed, an art Volapük.

We all recognize that the history of art sanctions, in an international sense, only such productions as bear the unmistakable imprint of their respective national origin. Not that we desire to see the national element as such! All we demand of art is the representation of a strong, human personality which shall enable us to participate in its spiritual life and aspirations. But what does such sympathetic participation or communication signify? The answer is simple. Every great work of art essentially reveals a new spiritual acquisition or victory on the part of its creator—a specific form of perception or emotion which impels to communication. Every genuine work of art, therefore, presupposes an excitation of emotion not previously experienced by any other individual. Small talents do not penetrate so deeply, but imitate previous models.

The man of great and independent genius eventually touches, in his individual experience, upon the sentiments common to the race with which he is identified. Consequently, no true genius is conceivable that does not, to some extent, reveal, together with a pronounced individual coloring, the national spirit. This spirit may be found at various depths. It follows, therefore, that all productions characterized by it are not necessarily works of genius. On the other hand, a conspicuous absence of this element always denotes, very near the surface, a deviation from the main line. Consequently, it would scarcely pay to institute researches in such a quarter for treasures of international value.

One would suppose that these simple rules would be sufficiently reliable guides to the educated classes of all civilized countries—guides

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that should enable them at once to discriminate between the truly valuable and the meretricious. This is true, more particularly, when we consider that what has here been said of the present applies also to the past.

From the age of Phidias down to our own time no artist has ever been recognized as truly great whose personality, apart from purely individual attributes, did not reveal somewhat of the general spirit of the race ; and it should be remembered that we are here referring to a decision rendered by the slow sifting process of history, in the course of which previously conceived judgments are frequently overthrown. New productions cannot rely upon accepted traditions nor upon the eloquent indorsement of contemporaneous advocates ; and their task is rendered more difficult when they must appeal to us in a foreign language. It is only necessary here to refer to the strong objections urged in the eighteenth century against the introduction into Germany of Shakespeare, a poet whom we Germans now cherish as highly as our own Goethe. The converse is also true ; and the musician Richard Wagner, perhaps the most recent example, already had a large following in Germany at a time when the essentially German features of his productions were still incomprehensible to those very foreigners who have now become his admirers.

In view of these considerations let us now inquire into the present condition of the fine arts in Germany, to ascertain what works may now be considered strictly and purely national. In what manner does the German demonstrate his sense of the artistic? Only recently a comparison has been instituted between the historical art of Germany and that of other nations, in order that the distinctive features of our indigenous productions may become embodied in fitting language, in lieu of the popular phraseology.

But is such a procedure after all justifiable? Does not the national sense manifest itself unconsciously? And is its influence in stirring a sympathetic chord not more powerful than its incorporation in the written or the spoken word? True, we cannot gaze into the rock to study its composition ; yet, from the spring glittering in the sunlight we can draw certain conclusions concerning the nature of the soil. In this connection, it may be said that, throughout a period of a thousand years, wherever German artists have congregated their creations have been distinguished by a greater number of distinctively national features than could be found among any other people.

Thus we find, for example, that the delight in beautiful lines and

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forms, peculiar to the Greeks, Romans, and Normans, is foreign to the productions of German art. The sensuously beautiful colors of the Orientals are also notably absent. Nor is German music in accord with the melody of the French and the Italians. The unconscious artistic bent of the German artist is not primarily to create a perfect work of art. On the contrary, he is easily carried beyond this aim. He does not regard his artistic creation as a finality, but as a sort of station upon the path leading to the attainment of the goal—a goal well defined by Goethe in the words, "Zu sagen was ich leide" (to give expression to the sentiments of the heart). "Art as a means of expression" is a popular phrase with us.

Under these conditions, beautiful construction—the pleasing sense of completeness and finish—necessarily suffers, and the spiritual content is stimulated and increased. The nobility and calm dignity of the antique as well as the sense of measure and moderation of the "classical" Italians have ever aroused the wonder and admiration of the German people; and, more particularly, for the reason that these attributes seemed to us almost unattainable. We are less proficient than other nations in confining the exercise of artistic means within the limits of good taste. When some powerful sentiment compels expression we are apt to forget the laws of good style, which, after all, are the fruits of a certain psychological development. For example, as we delight in the fulness of nature we heap on the plane surface of the canvas, with a total disregard of incongruity, all that is contained within the three dimensions of space. We delight in motion; so we seek to represent motion in a picture which is necessarily at rest. Our motto is not, "I am painting a picture which must prove a success," but, "See what I see; feel what I feel!" We study the paintings of southern nations in order to profit by them. But, in such study only weaker natures experience complete success: with the more highly endowed the German spirit is sure to assert itself.

In this connection, the criticism of Thode, a well-known historian of art, concerning the "Apostle" by Dürer, is highly characteristic. He says, in substance: "At last the aged artist succeeded in approaching, in style, restfulness, and completeness, those Italian masters whose productions had ever filled him with admiration." Yet, he has placed the dramatic German fire in the eye, a flame which fairly consumes, as it were, the classic calm which otherwise characterizes the picture. But we Germans rejoice in this because we instinctively feel it to be a true manifestation of our nature; we recognize the picture as

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genuine. Art must be truthful ; it must accord with nature : this we exact as the primary condition. It is undoubtedly true that the religious paintings of the southern nations were more "beautiful" than our own. On the other hand, it is well known that even the Italians regarded the Madonnas of the German masters as distinguished by greater "piety." Other nations may tell us that we do not contribute our best as art ; but perhaps we convey it through art. At all events, the student who examines our artistic productions in the hope of discovering qualities which have already acquired currency will be disappointed.

Even where, metaphorically speaking, new international products of art are cultivated in gardens or hot-houses, the influence of the native soil becomes manifest in the general structure and appearance of the plant. The most important problems of modern art have also actively engaged the attention of our artists ; and here again the treatment naturally reveals distinctively national features. An exception to the rule is Liebermann ; and he, so far as race is concerned, may scarcely be termed a German. Leibl's attitude toward his models is also somewhat cool ; but in this instance the term "coolness" is scarcely synonymous with lack of sympathy. Adolph Menzel, again, a great draughtsman, and, for his time, a brilliant painter, was incapable of regarding his models merely from the point of view of form and color. He describes and criticises them, as it were, and betrays, apart from a sense of humor which may scarcely be characterized as distinctively German, a thoroughly Teutonic liking for what is individual and unique.

When we desire to study the German spirit in its native haunts, we are compelled to resort to departments which admit and facilitate an active participation of the feelings, both in the serious and the humorous *genre*. We may unhesitatingly declare that, for many decades, the best products of German genius were to be found largely in the field of humor. We Germans are confirmed theorists. The theory of classical beauty had at one time completely turned our heads ; and long after our neighbor France had realized the mistake we gazed persistently in the wrong direction. The conception of historical painting was also extended far beyond justifiable limits ; and here our specific endowment frequently led us astray. The one-sided estimate of the ideal and the emotional led mediocre talents into the field of so-called literary or anecdotal painting, the *raison d'être* of which was to present a picture for the purpose of arousing interest in a historical, patriotic, or anec-

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dotal subject. To-day, this tendency to accentuate the subject rather than its mode of treatment fortunately survives in a few insignificant specimens only. Formerly, however, the above-mentioned *genre*, together with the other branches of this theoretically sifted school, so completely dominated our exhibitions, that only a few prominent artists, such as Menzel, could afford to maintain an independent attitude.

Under these conditions, the true German spirit, emancipated from the pedantry of the schools, could manifest itself only in a *genre* which was not taken seriously; and, naturally, the least serious of all departments was that of humor. The early efforts of such excellent humorists as Wilhelm Busch and Adolph Oberbäŭder may be traced to this period, which gave birth also to a progeny of brilliant caricaturists. Yet, prior to these we already had a number of artists who were not merely humorists, but who also diligently cultivated kindred departments. Whatever, indeed, laid no claim to "High Art," or failed to cater to the eternal rules of æsthetics as laid down by the unbending critics of that period, may here be stated to have revealed the true German spirit. To this category belong the modest "*genre* pictures," frequently deficient in *technique*—pictures representing subjects identified with our fairy lore, and the numerous sketches in the form of illustrations to newspapers and magazines.

In this connection, I would refer, first and foremost, to Ludwig Richter, who, with the eye of affection, discerned the best features of German fogyism; reproducing these in a chaste and felicitous manner and with a rich display of fantasy. I would also recall Spitzung, with his love of comfort and elegance, and Moritz von Schwind, whose style was preëminently distinguished by healthfulness and amiability. These were artists by innate endowment. They were men of feeling, and they depicted all subjects the contemplation of which, by influencing the finer emotions, created a deep sense of satisfaction. They were, indeed, by birth, religious painters; but at that time all religious paintings were still placed in the category of "Grand Historic Art"—a *genre* which could not be conceived without "classical lines," "noble poses," and ample flowing raiment after the manner of Raphael. Men of the stamp of Richter and Schwind, therefore, did not become painters of sacred subjects, but found their talents diverted into other channels.

The first painter actually to rebel against the restrictions based upon a natural and spontaneous expression in religious painting was Gebhards of Düsseldorf, who at least transferred Biblical anecdotes

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into the Middle Ages or into the period of the Reformation; thus emancipating himself from the traditional and conventional types of the Saviour and the Apostles, by imparting to them somewhat of his own subjectivity. Gebhards was followed by Fritz von Uhde, who represented the Saviour and the Apostles as stepping into the narrow chamber to comfort, and to abide with, the weary and heavy laden of to-day. Even the angels as depicted by Uhde are winged children of poverty, singing consolation and comfort. In this way arose a truly vital school of German religious painting. The movement, however, has never been countenanced by the Elders of the Church—those strict and unbending guardians of tradition. If you ask a German to-day whom he considers the most specifically Teutonic of all living masters of the brush, he will, in all probability, first mention the name of Hans Thoma. This artist is specifically German, not only in the representation, but also in the selection of subjects.

In all the pictures which have secured for him a wide celebrity, Thoma, like his predecessor, Ludwig Richter, aimed to give expression to extremely simple and homely sentiments. He mirrors the spirit of the common folk, but in the noblest sense, never descending to commonplace or platitude. His pictures have been characterized as "folk-songs in color." They may, indeed, be aptly compared with the poetic conceptions of Uhland; for they are not only simple, but rich and deep, and the more they are studied the more interesting they become. "Home Sweet Home"—this is the eternal refrain of all his creations. It echoes from hill and dale; it is suggested by every tree and house; the figures meditate on it; the very animals seem to be imbued with it; paradise itself seems to have grown out of the home environment. Yet, beside these peaceful scenes we not infrequently discern the presence of the weird phantasmagoria, which has ever been peculiarly associated with the imaginative tendency of the German mind.

A somewhat broader nature is that of the Swiss, Arnold Böcklin, whom we Germans, to-day, with common consent, rank among our own foremost artists. Thoma was "discovered" somewhat late; but his rise to popularity was extremely rapid. For several decades Böcklin was the subject of a very animated controversy. His glowing colors impressed the somewhat spoiled and effeminate spectator of a former generation as "unhealthy and poisonous." His defective drawing was regarded as unpardonable; and his subjects were called foreign and uncongenial, not because the scenes were usually laid in the South, the traditional land of Teutonic longing, but because the rich fantasy

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exacted too much from the average observer. Consequently, on first viewing these productions the majority of people saw only what they termed "ugliness" in the mythical and fabulous creatures, the satyrs, nymphs, dragons, and all the populous tribe of water and forest which Böcklin loved to present. These were usually of a size too large to admit of their conception as "accessories," and yet not large enough to warrant the acceptation of the landscape as a mere background. Here, then, was something new and unaccustomed—a landscape which, so to speak, had become incorporated in living beings that dwelt in it.

In Böcklin we find a repetition of the process which in the imagination of the ancients produced the conception of the gods as the living embodiment of various states of nature. The Jupiter of Otrioli involuntarily reminds us of the sky in its serenity ; the darkened visage of Neptune, by the expression of the features alone, immediately suggests the threatening tempest upon the deep. Upon closer acquaintance Böcklin discloses to us a world of impressions. We behold nature in an almost infinite succession of wonderful moods, in which animate and inanimate objects impress us as one and indivisible. Böcklin has this faculty of unification ; for he neither copies from models, nor does he present a mere portrayal of nature. As Dürer once conceived the spirit as living within the finished form, so, by means of an ethereally beautiful and dreamful coloring, Böcklin places upon the canvas poetic ideas which preëxist in the soul. Thus, in a truly lyrical spirit, and with a wealth of humor, he has succeeded in reproducing all the fabulous creatures of mythology ; evolving them, as it were, from out the very midst of the rich and passionate landscape of the South.

Böcklin also shows us the Emperor Death riding through the stormy fields of autumn. He shows us Peace and Death—the Island of Death, and the Island of the Blessed, where all life forever blooms. He depicts Prometheus, high upon the mountain top, his powerful form chained and yet defiant, like a storm-cloud. One picture represents War and his Comrades sweeping over the landscape ; and upon another celebrated painting we behold an anchorite playing upon his violin, and watched by the angelic host and by the Virgin Mary, who seems to suffer in sympathy with the tearless anguish of the Saviour. Thus has this poet of the art of coloring bestowed upon us many subjects, great and small—cheerful little scenes in miniature form ; and again bold and vigorous conceptions, many of them treating lofty and religious subjects.

It has been said that we have become accustomed to look on the en-

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tourage of Frederick the Great with the eyes of Adolph Menzel. With equal justice it may be asserted that we have learned to regard the objects portrayed by Böcklin in the spirit of that great master. It is natural, therefore, that his influence should already have permeated the whole domain of art. Whoever has learned to appreciate Böcklin has not only received a gift in the form of beautiful impressions, but has greatly enlarged his own conception of nature.

Böcklin is, above all, a colorist; and with him color is not a mere accessory, but an important medium of expression. If we consider, however, the particular qualities which I have already designated as peculiar to our national genius, we shall readily perceive that the German mind is often capable of exercising with the pencil a still more potent influence.

The draughtsman is far less hampered in his movements than the colorist: he draws a curved line upon the white sheet before him, and, behold! the sun stands in the heavens. With a few simple touches he darkens a landscape, and night settles upon the face of the earth. He draws the outlines of a human figure, accentuating the left side by darkened lines, and thus reveals it as illuminated from the right. Free-hand drawing, the art of the pencil, thus employs suggestions and symbols designed to call attention to points not bodily represented on the picture, which the observer's own fantasy must independently evolve from the sketch before him. Such artists, therefore, whose primary aim was to awaken ideas and sentiments, naturally availed themselves of the incomparable means of expression afforded in this department—a department, indeed, which may be characterized as a compromise between painting and poetry. So it is natural that, since the days of Holbein and Dürer, this department should have furnished the greatest number of productions specifically German in character.

During the time that our national art was dominated by a foreign style, somewhat akin to that of "grand opera" prior to Wagner, the blossomings of German art may be found in a long list of sketches and illustrations, collectively evincing a silent, but steady, growth. In this connection, I would recall Rethel, Schwind, Richter, and last, but not least, Adolph Menzel. To-day we possess a great number of skilful artists in black and white. Among these Max Klinger is undoubtedly the most prominent.

The first works of Max Klinger excited public attention, and, because of an unconventional style and a singularity bordering on eccentricity, considerable opposition. His subjects were infinitely varied,

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and suggested the casual ideas of a young man of high intellectual endowment. And yet they were something more than random ideas: they were fantasies. Thus we have "The Rescue of Ovidian Sacrifices," pages giving a humorous turn to the tragic climaxes of antique sagas. As a lover lies dreaming, the glove of his inamorata appears before him in all manner of grotesque and humorous associations.

In addition to these momentary moods and inspirations Klinger has given us subjects of a serious turn. Side by side with his play of humor, we find designs distinguished by a positively demoniac sense of the tragic element. Thus, by means of a bold symbolism, the artist presents the pictures entitled, "Eve and the Future"; "A Life" (upon which the revolting features of the career of an unfortunate are so delineated as to stir our deepest pity); "The March Days of 1848" (depicting the fierce intoxication of the Revolutionists of that time); "The Tragedy of a Mother" (representing the suicide of a wife, after killing her babe because of ill-treatment on the part of the husband, a drunkard); and, in addition, the conceptions respectively entitled "The Seduction" and "A Story of Love," in which the darkest passion is illumined with surpassing truthfulness and vividness.

It was, therefore, the deeply sympathetic nature of the man which eventually drew about him a large circle of admirers. Klinger is entirely free from the traditional fault of the German artist, shared even by Albrecht Dürer. I refer to the tendency to accumulate details and trivialities, due to a love of elaboration. Klinger at once embraces his subject in all its essentials. He penetrates to the heart of the matter, in such a way as to convert the special circumstance into a permanent type. I would here present as an example his well-known Cycle entitled "Death": the first page, a sort of prelude, introduces, as it were, the Spirit of the Dream who sits brooding upon the nocturnal shore, contemplating the butterfly hovering among the lilies. The Spirit then beholds pictures of Death passing out into the dismal night; and it is here that Klinger introduces a series of confused and detached fragments from the tragedies of life.

The Flood tells of the sufferings of the shipwrecked, of Death laughingly capsizing vessels and sending forth his servant, the forked lightning, to end the sufferings of the wretched, or despatching dreams to smooth the passage of the sleeping infant into eternity. New and ever varying pictures pass before the soul of the brooding artist: great conceptions, covering a wide perspective, and sketches of lesser magnitude, yet greater depth, emerge from the dark background of his

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fantasy. Gradually he recognizes that all of these constitute parts of a whole. The single notes become chords; and the chords culminate in an "Epic of Death."

"We flee the form of death, not death itself, which is the goal of all our desires. Fear regards Death as a terrifying vision: but the experienced and aged wanderer does not flee from it; for he recognizes the spirit beneath the outward form, and, bending before this spirit, he is crowned with the palm of peace."

We toil as in the days of the pyramids, harnessed to the yoke, in order that we may accumulate wealth. Yet its form is as vain as that of the great, who make war for the sake of a Crown that derides them: above their final rest, the mighty Goddess, Time, passes with crushing tread. Temples become heaps of ruins. Flourishing trees wither to dry stumps. Fragmentary is our belief. Piecework, our knowledge; its hold upon us is purely superficial; and when we seek to attain the highest peaks, we lose our grasp and become helpless.

In nature we are as helpless as the child that kneels beside its dead mother. "Why dost thou tell me nothing?" it says. "I need thee." Here lies the solution. The individual dies; humanity lives. The ideals of humanity are superior to the destiny of individuals. "Dost thou desire to become glorified in the service of the temporal, or annihilated in the service of the eternal?" To each and every one compelled to wage the inner conflict, this question of the tempter is presented to-day as it was in the days of John the Baptist. The standard-bearers of progress are those that successfully resist temptation. Thus Death finally teaches us the lesson of the eternity of nature. Day breaks at last; and we sink down and worship the spirit of everlasting beauty! The lay of death terminates in a song of praise on the eternity of life.

I have here endeavored to give the reader an idea of these etchings, upon which the most carping critic will fail to detect a single feature that may be termed inanimate or strained. These sketches are neither allegories nor riddles. Their aim is not to describe ideas, but to mirror sentiments which give rise to thought. They do not breathe the popular spirit: indeed, they are comprehensible to those only who have pondered the great questions of existence. But the conceptions of Klinger are art in the highest sense—art in which all is resolved into the realm of ideas. Whoever has once penetrated into the wonderful world disclosed by the artist will indeed feel transported to the very heart of existence, far removed from the humdrum life of the day.

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The positively gigantic fantasy of Max Klinger does not appear with equal distinctness in all his works. He is not only a master of the pencil, but also excels as painter and sculptor ; and, with fine discrimination, he ever regards the province of the pencil as distinct from that of the sister arts whose mission it is to deal with form. Thus we have paintings by Klinger distinguished by imposing reserve and statuesque calm, and sculptures which reveal the true artistic delight in the representation of the nude. Yet both paintings and sculptures are characterized by noble dignity and purity of style.

Frequently, however, we find a tendency also here toward what we Germans designate in the narrower sense as "the Art of the Fantasy." As an illustration may be mentioned a work of extraordinary dimensions, "Christ on Olympus." In the midst of the gods of Greece, who already show signs of age and decrepitude, we behold the figure of Christ, who enters accompanied by Death. An oppressive atmosphere pervades the picture and rests upon every soul. Far below we behold the Titans shaking the pillars of their prison-house. The whole picture is emblematic of the tragic destruction of an epoch of culture, universal in its scope ; and there is not a single figure upon it modelled upon traditional types. The work is permeated by the great inventive genius of the artist.

No contemporary painter has given such splendid expression to the axiom of Faust as Max Klinger. So powerful is the impulse to rend old forms asunder and to create new symbols for the interpretation of bold and unprecedented artistic conceptions, that at times it seems almost as if a new Dürer had arisen. The objections urged against Klinger are those usually brought forth against the Germanic spirit as a whole. The qualities especially conspicuous in him are again distinctively Teutonic.

In conclusion, I would advise those who desire a closer acquaintance with the more profound conceptions of contemporaneous German art to study above all the work of Max Klinger.

FERD. AVENARIUS.

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NEW CRIMES AND PENALTIES.

WHEN Benjamin Franklin raised his famous kite he was not conscious of raising new ethical or legal problems. His experiment was purely scientific. He meant to draw lightning from the clouds, and he succeeded. At the time, there had not been enacted a law like that recently passed by the State of Connecticut, entitled: "An act to prevent the stealing of electricity." That electricity might be guided, that it might be measured as easily as water, Franklin may possibly have foreseen. Did he imagine that it would be available for general consumption, that it could be stored as well as distributed, that millions of dollars would be spent in making and buying it, and that, eventually, electricity would become property?

Franklin's public reputation as an enterprising kite-flyer is secure. Wholly different, however, would that reputation be to-day if, instead of flying his kite in the air and waiting for a thunderstorm, he should throw the string over a telephone, telegraph, electric-light, or electric-power wire. If he escaped the physical consequences of contact with a wire carrying heat, light, and power, the legal consequences in most of the States would rapidly follow any such habitual experiment. In some cities he would come in contact with municipal ordinances forbidding him to fly kites at all in streets trellised with electric wires. The grounding of an electric wire means an "obstruction," or it means a diversion of the current involving an interruption of business or a loss of power. When telegraph wires were first put up in New York the kite nuisance was one of the most common interruptions; and, in crowded cities, a war had to be made upon kite-flying. But electricity as property is exposed not merely to the hazards of weather and to ignorant interference; it is exposed also to theft. It is an easy thing for a skilled operator to tap a wire and steal a message. It is not difficult to divert the current to run a dynamo in your own cellar; and if a man has a grudge against a telephone or a telegraph company he may cut off its business with a pair of nippers.

It was inevitable, therefore, that electricity as property should seek insulation in the statutes of most of the States. Within the last two

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years a dozen States have had to modify their laws in order to punish "the stealing" of electricity, as it is called in Connecticut, or "larceny," as it is called in Montana, or "malicious obstruction, disturbance, or diversion of the electric current," or "tampering with meters," or interfering with apparatus, which the law recognizes in various other States. It is generally agreed that electrical property must be protected, and all the session laws have become storage batteries for fulminating legal maledictions and contradiction; but the legal doctors do not agree as to what the punishment shall be, and it is here where the contradiction comes in, as it does in every attempt to scale penalties to crimes.

Connecticut, under a law passed in 1897, punishes the stealing of electricity by a fine not exceeding $50, or by imprisonment in the county jail, which may last ninety days. Montana punishes such "larceny" by a fine of from $100 to $500, equal to the penalty for the larceny of gas or water. In Michigan the penalty is $100 and costs, or imprisonment not exceeding three months, or both fine and imprisonment. Maryland, New Jersey, and Iowa have the same penalties—a fine not exceeding $500, or imprisonment of not over six months, or both. Georgia makes the offence a misdemeanor, the punishment for which may be a fine of not more than $1,000, imprisonment not exceeding six months, or work on the chain-gang twelve months. The same variation will be found in other States. Though there are meters for water, gas, and electricity, there is no *pœnometer* by which to measure penalties. If such a meter could be invented and introduced into legislatures and courts of justice, we might hope for some uniformity in gauging penalties for crime.

Granted that Franklin may have foreseen that it would be a sin to steal electricity, could he have foreseen that it would be a sin punishable by fine or imprisonment to give it away? Yet the people of Nebraska have lately passed a law in which the giving away of electricity to certain persons is prohibited. Telephone and electric-light companies are forbidden to give free or reduced rates to any city or village officials; and the officers or agents of a telephone company bestowing their favors in this way are liable to a fine of $100 to $500 and to imprisonment of from thirty days to six months. Electric-light companies committing the same offence are liable to the same fine; and the guilty persons in such corporations may be imprisoned for from thirty to ninety days.

Why telephone officials should be imprisoned for six months and

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why electric-light officials should get off with a maximum of ninety days does not appear in the statute. Passed in order to prevent unjust discriminations, a distinction is nevertheless made in the penalty where no difference is apparent. On the other hand, the penalty for the city official who accepts free or reduced telephone or electric-light or water service is a fine of from $100 to $500 and imprisonment from thirty to ninety days, with forfeiture of office. The same penalty is provided for city officials accepting free passes on street railways. A laudable attempt has here been made to make the penalties uniform. The Nebraska law is an intimation that electric-light, power, and traction companies may become a source of bribery and corruption in municipal affairs, and that it may be even necessary to prohibit city officials from using water freely.

Thus the introduction of every new invention may enlarge the field of litigation. There is, first, an opportunity, unknown to the ancients, to quarrel about patents, which constitute a special law-branch, turning mainly upon questions of priority. That, however, relates to the birth of the invention; carrying it into court, but not into the legislature. The law-makers are concerned, not with its genesis, but with its effect, and with the form of public injury into which it may be perverted. It is curiously interesting to note the way in which, sooner or later, new inventions are engraved in the criminal code. Not even the most utilitarian moralist would venture to suggest that there is anything wicked or maleficent in electricity or in any of the forces of nature. These are rather beneficent gifts for which we are grateful; but their application to modern life opens new sources of temptation or reveals new sources of danger.

A host of modern inventions or manufactured articles having a market value constitute a new opportunity for the thief. Most of these articles come under the ordinary definitions and conceptions of property. They do not need to be catalogued in the statutes. The theft of a lamp is larceny; it may be a Roman lamp or a Greek lamp, an oil lamp or an electric lamp. Whether it constitutes grand larceny or petit larceny will in certain States of the Union depend, not upon its age or newness, but upon its market value. On the other hand, there are a great number of modern crimes which could not have been committed in ancient days because the instruments for their perpetration did not exist. They are the outcome of modern civilization and they require new legislation.

The tapping of a telegraph wire is a modern form of highway rob-

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bery. In the old days, the method was to waylay the courier on the road and to rob him of his purse or of his message. The formula of the modern highwayman is not, "Stand and deliver," but simply "Deliver." And he may get a message from the lightning courier which may be worth more to him than a well-filled purse. But there is nothing to be gained by indiscriminate tapping. It is some special message or information that the thief is looking for, possibly for its effect on the stock market or on other business ventures; but the use of cipher codes renders the tapping of telegraph wires of little avail even in time of war, unless the code, as well as the message, has been stolen. For the tapping of power or light lines the modern highwayman comes in out of the rain. He can do his business better indoors by attacking the electric meter, confusing its calculations, and thus getting more current than he pays for. Such at least seems to be the implication of recent statutes.

If, however, electricity permits itself to be used as an agent of crime, it is also invoked to prevent crime. The house-breaker must beware of the burglar alarm, and the flooding of stores at night by electricity is a brilliant defiance to his dark lantern. The telephone and the telegraph may assist in capturing the criminal, and the electric light may illumine his cell and his intellect. The motive for introducing the electric light in the Kentucky penitentiary at Frankfort is thus declared in the Statutes of 1898, "that inmates may have an opportunity to study at night."

In adopting execution by electricity Massachusetts followed in the wake of New York. It is more merciful than hanging, and more rapid. It can be done in a cell with a few witnesses, instead of with theatrical effect in the rotunda of the jail or in the jail-yard with several hundred spectators. In civilized communities, if the death penalty persists, the electric current will no doubt displace the rope and the axe. But Colorado recently cut the hangman's knot in another fashion by abolishing capital punishment altogether.

In modern legislation steam has had an enormous influence, especially in the way of railroad legislation. The introduction of electric railways now renders necessary many verbal amendments in the laws of the States. Penalties have long been enacted for obstructing steam-railroads. Where the word "steam" was used in the statutes the phrase "steam or electricity" is now necessary. So, in recent statutes, there will be found many laws for the protection of street railways and for punishing interference with electric motors, just as interference

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with locomotive engines is punished. Electricity has even made itself felt in the game laws; in many of the States the use of electric launches as well as steam launches being prohibited in duck-shooting.

Two new crimes grow out of modern methods of transportation. One is the form of thievery known as "stealing rides." The ancient form of this crime, which the statutes and the criminal statistics of our Western States show not to be extinct, was horse-stealing. Historians of transportation have reminded us that, from the days of Xenophon down to the time of Napoleon, there was hardly any change in methods of moving about from place to place. Both generals had to depend upon their horses, wagons, and beasts of burden.

In modern times, with a country gridironed with railways, it is not necessary, except in sparsely settled communities, for the thief to steal the horse. All that is necessary is to steal the ride. It is a theft, not of property, but simply of transportation. The ethical point raised, however, is precisely that which Lucian brought out so wittily in his dialogue between Charon and Menippus. The old ferryman having taken Menippus across the Styx demands his fare, and is told to "holler for it." Charon repeats his demand. "You cannot take what I haven't got," replies Menippus. "Is there any one who hasn't two cents?" says Charon. "I don't know about anybody else, I know that *I* haven't got it," replies the passenger, and he threatens the ferryman with personal violence. "But did you not know," says Charon, "that it is necessary to pay?" "What if I did? I had nothing to pay with. Is it necessary to refrain from dying?" Charon thinks he might levy on the passenger's bag, but finds nothing in it but the scanty remains of his last meal. Thus Lucian shows us that stealing transportation is a very old offence.

The modern precaution is to make the traveller pay in advance for his ticket, and, on certain railroads, not to let him pass through the gate unless he shows it; but this does not prevent a large number of people from stealing rides. I have known a tramp to "beat" his way from Massachusetts to Colorado and from Colorado to Florida, and without being obliged to ride on the truck. When passengers put their tickets under the upholstery binding in the seats in front of them or in the band of their hats which they afterwards put on the rack, it is easy for the thief to pick one up without being noticed, particularly when the owner sleeps. If a ticketless tramp is discovered and put off the car he can renew the experiment with the next train, and thus gradually make his way from point to point. "To prevent tramps and

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others from stealing or attempting to steal a ride on railroad trains," Georgia has passed a law making it unlawful for any person to conceal himself from the conductor or train authorities by hiding under the train or upon the top of a train or in box cars, tenders, or elsewhere, for the purpose of avoiding the payment of fare. As the offence is made a misdemeanor it is punishable by a maximum fine of $1,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by work on the chain-gang for twelve months. In Utah, which adopted a new code in 1898, stealing rides is punishable by imprisonment in the county jail not exceeding fifty days, or by a fine not less than $50, or both. But to show that the ancient crime is not extinct Florida has increased her penalty for horse- and cattle-stealing. The maximum for the first offence was formerly two years; in 1897, it was increased to five years. The maximum punishment for a second violation remains the same, twenty years. Texas, on the other hand, has reduced the penalty.

Laws forbidding people to get on or off cars while in motion are very common. Again, if it has been found necessary to pass laws against stealing rides, it has also been deemed necessary to protect the public against railroads by passing laws with penalties forbidding extortion and discrimination against individuals or localities in transportation rates.

The most heinous crime in connection with modern transportation is that of train-wrecking. The crime of the modern Dick Turpin, who "holds up" a train and "goes through" its passengers, differs only in audacity from that of the highwayman who stopped the traveller on the road on a dark night. The modern highwayman prefers to do a wholesale business; but the robber who wrecks the train to make his victims more helpless is one of the most heartless of all modern criminals, and special laws have been enacted to meet his offence.

Three years ago the State of New York, in revising the penal code of 1889, increased the penalty for wilfully placing obstructions upon railroad-tracks or wilfully interfering in any way with the motive power of steam or electric roads. If the safety of any person is endangered, the imprisonment may be twenty, instead of ten years, as before; in case safety is not endangered the imprisonment may extend to five years, instead of three, as before. A new section was also added to the penal code relative to murder in the first degree. It provides that a person who wilfully loosens or displaces a rail or, by any other interference, wrecks a railway train, whether operated by steam, elec-

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tricity, or other motive power, so as to cause the death of a human being, is guilty of murder in the first degree and punishable accordingly. Michigan has also passed a new law declaring that attempted wrecking of railroad trains is a felony, and shall be punished by imprisonment in the State's prison at hard labor for life or for any term of years not less than five. Forcible detention of railway trains for the purpose of robbery is a felony to be punished in the same way. Another statute applies the same principle to street railroads. In Wisconsin, when death results from their crimes, train-wreckers are to be imprisoned for life.

Another modern invention now making itself felt in legislation is the bicycle. The laws against fast driving which prevail in certain States must now be extended to cover bicycles. At present the automobile has hardly got into the statutes. It is likely that we shall soon accustom ourselves to a higher rate of speed on public roads ; but there must be a limit somewhere to check the ambition of the bicycle and the automobile. They, in turn, need the protection of the law.

The transition is easy from horse-stealing to bicycle-stealing. Where new penalties of this form of larceny seemed necessary they have been made. Bicyclists are now protected, too, by laws securing for them the sole use of bicycle paths and forbidding trespass by other vehicles. Ohio has even decreed that, in sprinkling streets and avenues, a dry strip shall be left for bicycles. At its last legislative session Connecticut passed four laws of interest to wheelmen. The theft of a bicycle worth more than $25 is punished by imprisonment for one year. The use of a bicycle of another without permission is forbidden under penalty of a fine of $50 or of three months' imprisonment. Another act, passed on the same day, forbids bicyclists to ride without alarm-bells, or to ride on highways within thickly populated villages faster than ten miles an hour. Another section, however, allows greater speed at specified times. A third law punishes wilful injury to bicycle paths by a fine of $50 or three months' imprisonment, and a fourth statute imposes a fine of $20 for the throwing of sharp substances, such as nails, tacks, etc., into the highways ; the enactment of the last statute being due to the invention of the rubber tire, which is now applied to other vehicles.

The zeal of bicycle organizations has led to the adoption of similar laws in many States ; but, so far as I know, Illinois is the only State which has passed a law to protect wheelmen from their own misguided enthusiasm. This law of June, 1897, is entitled, " An act to prevent

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long-continued and brutal bicycle riding." It makes it unlawful for any person or corporation to engage or take part in or "conduct a bicycle race of more than twelve consecutive hours' duration, without a rest of six consecutive hours following each twelve hours' racing," and also to rent any building for a bicycle race without conforming to this act. The penalty is a fine of from $25 to $500, or imprisonment from thirty days to one year. This act, of course, does not prevent a man from committing suicide by riding himself to death on the road.

The introduction of petroleum has had a marked effect upon statute law, and blazes luridly in penal codes. In the past two years many laws have been amended or modified, prescribing the degree and method of fire tests, regulating transportation, and forbidding sale unless in conformity with the law. In Wisconsin, if the death of a person results from the explosion of a lamp or of vessels containing illuminating oils sold in violation of law, the person selling the oil shall be deemed guilty of manslaughter in the third degree.

The development of modern explosives, especially the wide use of dynamite, has led to new laws for the protection of life and property; and, in many States, the game laws have been amended to prevent the destruction of fish by dynamite or other explosives.

The discovery of anæsthetics was an incalculable blessing; but there is hardly any blessing which cannot be turned into a curse. A late amendment to the penal code of New York makes it a felony for any person not a physician or surgeon to have in his possession any narcotic or anæsthetic substance capable of producing stupor or unconsciousness, with intent to administer the same to another without his consent, unless by the direction of a duly licensed physician. The penalty is imprisonment in the State's prison for not more than ten years. It has even become necessary to protect people against the immoderate and dangerous use by themselves of modern palliatives to pain. Helen of Troy, besides being a beautiful woman, was a licensed pharmacist, and Homer has paid a fine tribute to her skill; but how many things the modern pharmacist has in his pharmacopœia for allaying pain which were lacking in hers!

The increased sense of responsibility resting upon druggists and their clerks has led to a revision of the laws regulating pharmacy in various States. Like the dentist, physician, and surgeon, no pharmacist can practise without a license. Four States, Colorado, Illinois, Louisiana, and Massachusetts, have passed laws making it unlawful to sell cocaine without the prescription of a licensed surgeon or physician.

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Though there is uniformity in the prohibition there is, as usual, no uniformity in the penalty. Thus, in Massachusetts the fine is $50 ; in Colorado it is from $5 to $300 ; in Illinois it is $10 to $50 for the first offence, $50 to $200 for subsequent offences, or imprisonment to thirty days ; in Louisiana it is a fine of from $25 to $100 or imprisonment for thirty days. In the past two years many laws relating to the practice of medicine, surgery, and dental surgery have been revised. The plan has been extended of having special boards of examination to guard the entrance to these professions.

In some States the practice of embalming is similarly regulated by an examining board, and in other States this method is applied to chiropodists. In Minnesota no barber is admitted to practise without passing the test of an examining board. The development of osteopathy has led to its regulation by statute ; a regular diploma from a college of osteopathy being necessary. South Carolina now forbids travelling medicine-venders plying their vocation, under penalty of a hundred dollars or imprisonment of one hundred days. Maryland has lately passed laws requiring the registration of nurses and midwives, with penalties attached, and forbidding the sale of spectacles or eyeglasses without license, unless by a practising physician or optician.

Among the most important and most frequent laws in the legislation of the past two years are sanitary laws of every kind, with penalties attached in the way of fine or imprisonment. A great many prohibit the adulteration of food, candy, and milk. Adulterations of food may be divided into two classes : (1) those dangerous to health ; and (2) simply commercial frauds, of which there are a good many. In many States, to prevent commercial frauds, labels and tags stating the exact nature of the contents are required ; and laws have been passed requiring restaurants to placard their use of such articles. California has even determined to protect her dependent classes from such frauds, and forbids the use of any other substance than the pure article of butter or cheese in the charitable and penal institutions of the State. Violators of this or other sections of the bill incur a fine of $50 or imprisonment for thirty days, and, for a subsequent offence, the fine may be $300 or six months' imprisonment. Laws requiring tagging relate also to the adulteration of fertilizers.

The health of animals and of trees is now protected by special laws. The health of animals may have an important relation to the health of human beings. In Maine the bodies of animals dying of disease must be injected with kerosene oil, until it permeates the carcass. This

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effectually prevents the selling of the meat. In other States burial is required. The poisoning of wells is an old crime; but the modern discovery that typhoid fever may come from the pollution of water-supplies has led to the enactment of new laws and new penalties. It illustrates the influence which the microscope has had on modern legislation and on our ideas of social responsibility.

A vast number of labor laws illustrate the authority and influence which labor now commands in all legislative councils. Many wisely relate to the sanitary conditions of employment. Some are for the protection of women and children; limiting the hours of labor or requiring employers to furnish seats for their women and girls. There are laws to protect miners, and workers in certain trades, such as plumbers and horseshoers, from the invasion of unskilled labor. Under new statutes the motormen, or, as they are called in the Kansas statutes, "motoneers," are protected against bad weather by vestibules.

The laws for the protection of public morals enacted in the last two years show continued vigilance against insidious forms of modern iniquity. The gambling spirit is always finding some fresh embodiment, and availing itself of some new invention. Hence there are laws prohibiting gambling with "slot machines," and, in Vermont, with "Klondyke machines," a combination of the slot machine with the roulette wheel. Louisiana has passed a law against gambling in futures.

Of liquor laws there are a multitude. In some of the Southern States where local-option ideas prevail there are different laws not only for different counties, but for different precincts or "beats" in the same county. In 1897, Alabama passed thirty-four such laws. The game laws, each with its special penalty, are simply legion. A few of the States have general game laws; but most of them enact laws for special localities. Thus, Alabama, in 1897, passed fourteen, and, in the session of 1897–98, Virginia passed no less than forty-seven. We can imagine the embarrassment of a sportsman going through the State of Virginia and encountering a different law and a different penalty every few miles! He might repeat the saying of Voltaire in regard to France before the adoption of the Napoleonic Code: "This people change their laws as often as their horses." Numerous, too, are road laws and special laws prohibiting stock from running at large in special districts.

The protection of children and minors is the aim of many statutes. A law prohibiting the sale of cigarettes to minors has had a wide range. And Tennessee, having forbidden, in 1891, the selling or the

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giving of cigarettes to minors, passed a law, in 1897, prohibiting cigarettes from being sold at all, or even from being brought into the State. Among new laws is a number forbidding minors to frequent pool-rooms or billiard-rooms without the written consent of their parents. Several States have enacted more severe laws for the protection of girls by raising the age of protection.

The modern spirit of association is seen in the vast number of laws incorporating various companies and organizations. New laws are required for their regulation, as, for instance, in the case of beneficiary and assessment insurance companies. On the other hand, there are laws forbidding the use by unauthorized persons of labels, trade-marks of labor-unions, badges of the Grand Army, and other societies. Then the pendulum swings the other way, and some of the most rigid laws recently enacted are the anti-trust laws of various States, punishing monopolies by heavy fines and imprisonment.

What would Draco and Solon have thought of such laws? They did not agree on matters of jurisprudence. Draco stands as the type of excessive severity in criminal law, and Solon, though all his laws may not endure the modern test, stands as the father of wise and benign legislation. But what would these ancient legislators think after reading, as the writer has done, 30,000 pages of legislation in the forty-five States—all of it less than two years old? Suppose, for instance, that Draco took it all seriously, and imagined that all the laws we passed were meant to be enforced. Suppose they really were enforced and that the Greek law-giver should make a tour of the prisons and jails of the United States. Imagine him asking a score of convicts why they had been convicted.

"I," said an Alabama man, "have been sentenced to thirty days for jumping off a train while in motion." "I," said a Virginian, "rode a horse on the sidewalk through an unincorporated village, and am in prison for sixty days." "I," said another Virginian, "killed a partridge on the second day of February in Cumberland County, and am in prison for thirty days." "I," said a California woman, "am a nurse, and I neglected to report to a doctor that a baby's eyes became inflamed within two weeks after birth. I am in prison for six months." "I," said a Tennesseean, "'lobbied' with the legislature." "You mean bribed it?" asked Draco. "Oh, no, I just 'lobbied,' but I did not address my arguments '*solely to the judgment*,' and so I am 'in' for five years." An Adonis from the same State curled his moustache: "I fell in love with a young lady at a Tennessee boarding-school. In

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a rash moment I ventured to loiter on the opposite side of the street, and I threw a kiss to her. Now I have thirty days to serve in the county jail."

"By Jupiter!" exclaimed Draco. "It is all very well for you to swear by Jupiter," said a man from New Jersey; "but I made the mistake of swearing by the name of Jesus Christ, and so I have two years to serve." "I," said a New York man, "tampered with an automatic ballot machine, and for the next five years I shall labor for the benefit of the State." "I," said another New Yorker, "was calling on a friend in the upper story of a sky-scraper, and I ventured to drop some of my advertising circulars down the letter-chute. Unfortunately, I had forgotten to address them. So I got five days." "I," said a New Jersey man bitterly, "did not drop my *ad.* into a letter-chute; I wish I had. I made the mistake of putting it up on the Palisades, and I am sentenced to three years for disfiguring the landscape." "As to advertising," said a lawyer from Washington, "I ventured to solicit divorce business by an advertisement in a newspaper, and now I shall read my newspapers in jail for the next six months." "I can go you one better," said a Pennsylvania criminal. "I thought it would be a compliment to my country to print my advertisement on a picture of the American flag. The court thought differently, and I am in seclusion for six months." "You ought to live in South Dakota," said a bystander. "I did the same thing, and I got off with a five-dollar fine." "But be thankful you do not live in North Dakota," said another criminal. "I ventured to organize a 'trust.' I thought I might promote trade by lessening competition; now I have ten years in which to reflect upon my conduct."

"I," said a Wisconsin man, "sold some impure ice, and I shall spend the winter in the county jail." "Well, you have my company," said a Wisconsin baker. "I ventured to sleep in my bakery. My first offence cost me $50 a night, which ate up all the profits. The second offence cost me $100 a night, which was still more disastrous. For the third offence I had to pay $250 a night. And now, to even things up, I am lodging six months in jail at the expense of the State." "It all happens in the course of business," said a Michigander. "I thought it was all right to buy an empty beer bottle stamped with the brewer's name. My mistake costs me ninety days in jail." "You got off easily," said a Florida man; "for I got a year for smashing a bottle similar to the one you bought." "Well, be thankful you don't keep a boarding-house in Virginia. I failed to put up a sign which the law

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said must be in large Roman letters not less than one inch square, saying, 'IMITATION BUTTER USED HERE,' and now I am a jail-boarder myself for six months." In Virginia they use the letter of the Roman law. But what would Justinian say of its spirit?

Perhaps, to close the interview, which might go on almost indefinitely, we can imagine two prisoners from Tennessee saying: "Well, you are all low-grade criminals. You are nothing but misdemeanants; we have the honor to be felons." "You are perhaps murderers," said Draco, his face brightening at the thought of some crime with which he was familiar. "Yes, we are both murderers. I murdered some fish with dynamite—a Greek word, you know—and am 'in' for three years. And my friend here murdered some trees without the consent of the owner, and he also is 'in' for three years."

Would Draco think the world had grown better or that it had grown worse, and would he note it as an occasion for modern thanksgiving that the Americans live under milder laws?

One great difference, however, these ancient law-givers would find between their time and their country and ours. The laws of the American people bear a very close and intimate relation to their life. Right or wrong, good or bad, they are not imposed by external authority or by an aristocratic class. They are made by the people themselves. Whether enforced or not, the laws embody the ethical sentiment of the American people and reflect the spirit and the characteristics of American civilization.

S. J. BARROWS.

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A LIVING PROFIT AND A LIVING WAGE.

ALTHOUGH social questions must always be of more importance to a community than the more attractive problems of conquest and annexation, there is a danger that they may be neglected till they become extremely difficult to solve. They cannot be ignored, and it is surely the duty of all who can, to offer any suggestion likely to be of service. Foremost among these problems is the great question of reconciliation between capital and labor. When we consider the important array of economic effort before us, it is somewhat surprising to find how little real practical good has been accomplished. The seeds of thought have been sown, and in time the harvest may come; but meanwhile the evil grows. The labor war still goes on in every country; every now and then it becomes acute. There is no necessity to cite instances.

It will be of more practical service, perhaps, to point out some of the causes of the conflict and to try to suggest some remedy which may be immediately applied. It may be fairly assumed that there are faults on both sides. Trades-unionism, as such, should only mean the unity of those who are powerless to protect themselves without it. That they need protection can scarcely be denied. That they have a right to seek protection in the only way possible ought to be admitted. But, while the unity of atoms, absolutely essential to their existence, may give them the necessary power to insure self-preservation, there is always the danger that the strength may increase beyond that necessity; and we all know that force is naturally self-assertive. Hence trades-unionism may be, has been, and is, abused. On the other hand capital is a great power; and no reasonable person can really say that it has not abused its power to such an extent as to make some stand against it a virtue. In other words, labor regards capital as its natural foe, while capital regards labor as the means to an end only. That this is all wrong needs no argument. If labor was able in the primeval ages to do without capital, successful labor meant the accumulation of capital; and, without labor, capital is worthless. The two always have coëxisted, and always will coëxist. They have common interests, and they should be friends, not foes. When this fact is

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not only recognized, but subscribed to, by all concerned, there will be an end to the labor war. How to bring about this result is the great question.

If in what follows in this article the writer alludes to himself more than to others, it will be because he has tried to answer this question by a fearless experiment of which no one can speak with authority but himself, and because he has no wish to avoid the personal consequences. I have been requested to supply in this paper particulars respecting a scheme conceived and carried out in England. It has attracted considerable attention ; and, having held its own for about eight years, it possesses an advantage over any of the theories not yet tested. It is a large and comprehensive plan attempting to deal with every incident belonging to the two problems just mentioned ; and whatever else may be urged in opposition it cannot be accused of want of daring. That it is at least *thorough* its worst critics have never denied.

Considerable curiosity has been expressed with regard to the origin of the scheme and the qualifications of its originator. I have passed through every phase of business existence which may be involved in the elucidation of this question. I have been an apprentice, a journeyman mechanic, a foreman, traveller, manager, employer, and a director of companies. Unless my experience has been entirely wasted I have looked at the question from all points of view. The scheme was introduced by myself in my own trade. As a manufacturer I wished to make money, but could not under the circumstances then existing. As an employer of labor, having been a laborer myself, I wished to benefit all connected with my work.

I was a metallic-bedstead manufacturer. The competition which kills had set in. Profit was impossible, and disunion among competitors was complete. The workmen were more fortunate than their employers ; for they had a union, and they had been able to insist upon increased wages when it was difficult to pay even those they had. There had been many attempts to improve the situation. The trade, to be sure, had an association. It met every now and then and passed resolutions, which some of the members intended to carry out. Honest men lost their trade and the unscrupulous secured it. I was one of the sufferers until I resolved not to be bound again unless some guarantee of good faith could be given by all to all. A declaration to that effect brought a request that I suggest a plan. The scheme was devised, printed, and circulated throughout the trade, fully considered,

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rejected, reconsidered, and finally adopted. The process took several years. Once adopted it was pursued with faith and determination. The association to-day is one of the most elaborate and powerful organizations in existence. It is all the more powerful because it is not selfish. It provides for all concerned, manufacturers, workmen, and customers. While securing fair profits, paying fair wages, and giving to buyers all they can justly claim, it has, by the very nature of its constitution, been able to supply the public with goods at such fair prices as no reasonable person could object to pay, and it has not encouraged foreign competition.

Although there are some decidedly original features in the scheme it is, on the whole, simple. The two cardinal principles are: (1) selling from the well-ascertained cost of production; and (2) coöperating with the workpeople in securing a fair profit.

Upon the first principle much has been written by others as well as by myself. It is, of course, one of the chief factors in a good organization. There is too much business done blindly. The ascertaining of the real cost of production seems every day to be valued less by manufacturers. The current selling prices seem to be all that manufacturers wish to know anything about, their ambition being to go a little below them. It is not what we *can* do, but what our travellers and agents tell us we *must* do, that forms the rule by which we manage our business. This has been brought about by many causes, the chief one being despair. What is the use of finding out that you cannot or ought not to sell an article at less than ten dollars when you know that the current price is only eight? Such is the cry of manufacturers in any trade where competition is severe, and in which no unity exists. But what cannot be done without combination becomes easy with combination; and this question of selling from cost can be answered only by a trade-combination. Thus, the first thing to be done is to persuade the members of a trade to form an association; the next is to get them to form a large and representative committee to assist in working out the cost of production of every article that the association is intended to cover.

A full description of the process cannot be given here. The conclusions arrived at are those which suit the trade as a whole, not those that would suit any individual member. As the benefit to a community only can be considered, there are compromises to be made, special advantages to be given up. In other words, instead of securing more trade to the ruin of some less privileged competitors, special

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advantages in the shape of large capital, and others too numerous to mention, have to be used for the purpose of making more profit. There is no restriction of enterprise, ingenuity, practical knowledge, or energy ; nor is there any limit fixed on selling prices. The best quality may command the best prices. The only limit relates to the minimum profit, on cost, that must be obtained. The profit may be made as low as the association pleases, to suit the circumstances of a trade ; but no one can sell without it. On some goods a larger profit may be fixed than on others ; but nothing may be sold without a profit, unless by decision of the association, and for temporary fighting purposes only. In different trades this system operates differently.

In the metallic-bedstead trade, for example, there are no association price-lists. Each member sells at his own prices, and is at liberty to cheapen the cost as much as possible, within the association regulations, and to lower his prices accordingly ; but, whenever called upon he must be able to show that, after making out his calculations on association lines, there is still the minimum margin of profit provided in his selling prices. Consequently, each one competes with the others as to the cost of production. When unnecessary, bulk is avoided, as the prices of material are fixed for the time being. The wages for each process are scheduled, and cannot be set down at less ; but processes may be omitted and not charged for. Cheap articles may, therefore, be made and sold at their true value ; but they cannot be sold without profit. It thus becomes a race of ingenuity and of practical knowledge. If a maker rises to the top, it is not by means of those advantages of fortune by which he has in the past been able to crush others, but by the proper exercise of his faculties. Wherever this method of individual selling prices can be adopted, the articles sold will vary in price as much as ever ; but they will also vary in quality, and they must stand on their merits. The result is, that, although the manufacturer obtains fair profits on all he sells, the public is, in many instances, able to buy his productions as cheaply as before. Moreover, the lowering of the cost of production, instead of diminishing, often increases the real value of the article sold.

There are, however, some trades in which an association selling price is a necessity. The cost of production has to be made a fixture, as no variation is possible except in the matter of working expenses. A uniform list is therefore adopted. In some of these associations there is no need to grant special privileges to any one. One maker's article will sell as well as another's; and nothing but business faculty

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and attention to business will give an advantage. In other associations it is found necessary to allow special privileges, in the way of larger discounts off selling prices, to those members who are handicapped in the race for equality. This is done by a system of grading. As the arrangement is automatic, adjusting itself every half year, the privilege cannot be used for the purpose of stealing the trade of another member. It is simply a means by which each member may retain the trade he had before the association was formed. Should he wish to increase it, there is nothing to prevent; but he cannot be allowed to undersell. There is sometimes added a system of compensation for any loss of trade caused by the association. In some associations both the grading and the compensation rules are adopted. Up to the present, no member of any association has ever claimed compensation. Of course, the schedules prepared for taking out costs include equal charges for carriage, allowances to merchants, agents, and large buyers, as well as all the other matters incident to trade.

This, then, is the foundation of the system. Each member is compelled to learn how to take out the cost of his productions. It instructs ignorance, corrects carelessness, and prevents recklessness; and each business is conducted on true business lines. Thus far I have encountered no criticism of this part of the system. It will be naturally and correctly assumed that the code of rules under which such associations work provides for penalties for underselling, for the establishment of an investigation department, and for the formation of a guarantee fund to prevent breach of faith. This fund is formed, I think, by an original method: the money is not found, but merely guaranteed to a banker, who can call it in at the request of the association. Thus, each member is liable, but does not have to take the money out of his business, unless, by his own infidelity, he gives to the trustees the power to demand it. Every precaution is taken to secure for each member such safeguards as will make it impossible for him to be unjustly convicted.

I now come to the real power that these associations possess, and without which they could not live. It embraces also the means by which the claims of the workpeople are considered and conceded. All that I have described might be thought admirable, but it would not be effective alone. Even the guarantee fund is worth only the amount set against each member's name, and once forfeited, no hold over the defaulting member would be left. The theory might be good; but, in practice, it would break down, as all the others have done. I have said

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that the scheme is radical. Its critics say that it is arbitrary, coercive, and tyrannical. I reply that it is effective, and I will not quarrel about the other terms. I cannot find two people who agree as to what tyranny and coercion are when applied to themselves.

I am glad to have a government that punishes the man who picks my pocket; and I am glad to be a member of any community that will prevent me from being robbed in any other way. Manufacturers must take their choice of two evils—if this kind of coercion may be called an evil—the evil of unrestrained, cutthroat, ruinous, and iniquitous underselling, or the system by which it can be prevented. In this case coercion is prevention. If there is nothing to restrain there is no more to be said. If there is a better way I have not heard of it. Meanwhile, there is not an honest man in any of these combinations who can prove that under any circumstances whatever has he been prevented from doing anything which common sense or an appreciation of common justice would not condemn. If he wishes to trample on justice and to outrage common sense, he is dangerous to society and ought to be restrained. I have already said that 90 per cent of the members of these combinations are perfectly satisfied. The other 10 per cent might well be termed "various"; but they are not all fair-minded men. They have the right to fight for their own hand; but, if they are beaten by the majority, they may take comfort from the thought that this is the way in which every good nation is governed.

The principle supplying the necessary power is actual and active coöperation with the workpeople and a fair recognition of their rights in return for such help as cannot be obtained from any other source. There are two causes which have brought about the deplorable state of things among manufacturers to-day: imbecile underselling and labor troubles. The system I advocate prevents labor troubles by preventing underselling. The cure can come only from the power to control; and the power can be gained only by an acknowledgment that the interests of employers and employed are one.

So long as there exist lack of confidence and a belief in separate interests we shall have our labor troubles. Just so soon as we are able to recognize, on the one side, that we should withhold nothing that can be justly claimed, and, on the other, that we should claim nothing that would be unjust, will our labor troubles end. Before either side can reach this position, mutual confidence must be established. Manufacturers would not fight trades-unions were they not convinced that the unions ask more than they ought to have; trades-unions would

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not fight manufacturers if they knew that they were asking for the impossible. But how are the trades-unions to know what is possible? And on what fair lines do manufacturers argue when they decide for the workpeople what they ought to have? Before we can decide what is a fair wage we must resolve what is a fair profit. We, as manufacturers, have no more right to determine the wages of our workpeople than the workpeople have to determine our profits. If this is socialism I cannot help it. I simply plead for the right of each side to conclude for itself so long as no mutual confidence exists.

The system I plead for establishes this mutual confidence. It does not bring about a uniform wage, for this is a curse to workmen. In fact, my system does not interfere with wages, except in cases where personal consultation has failed, and by such adjustments as may come from friendly interchange of opinions on the Wages and Conciliation Board. It does not aim at the destruction of trades-unions. It simply uses their power for proper purposes. It not only admits the right of workmen to combine; it sanctions the principle by imitation. It carries trades-unionism into the ranks of employers; then it unites the two unions for the good of each. Taking it for granted that each side in the past has done the best for itself, it takes wages as they are, and profits, or the want of them, just as they are found. It then fixes the profits at a fair level, and adds to wages, as a separate item, a bonus or bonuses upon wages; each bonus being a percentage of such additional profit on a scale which in England is accepted as a fair proportion. An alliance is formed between the two unions or associations and the two interests are made so far identical that each must be affected by the other. A wages and conciliation board is formed of an equal number on each side. Its decisions, or the decisions of its arbitrator, must be accepted loyally, or the alliance, with all that belongs to it, is at an end.

No board has yet been broken up, and no alliance has been dissolved in any case where it has been properly formed and has represented fairly both employers and employed. No arbitrator has yet been called in; and every settlement—there have been hundreds—has been accepted amicably by all concerned. Two trades have been compelled to lay the alliance aside for the present, because they were too eager and had not completed the alliance with their workpeople. An alliance can be formed at any time; but no advantage can be taken of it until it has done its work by bringing the large majority of employers and workpeople into the compact.

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The terms of this alliance are simple, but invincible, if carried out. They are that, in return for the advantages given, neither side will countenance any maker or workman who is not included in the agreement. No workman will assist a manufacturer to sell below the regulation prices, and no manufacturer will employ a workman who is not a member of his union and loyal to the terms of alliance. It is not at first considered necessary that each manufacturer shall become a member of his association. Time is often given for thought and observation; but he must at least enter into an agreement as to his selling prices, and when charged with underselling he must consent to be investigated. This generally ends in his becoming a full member of the association.

There are several conditions attaching to the alliance which must be mentioned :

1. The workpeople have a guarantee that existing wages shall never be reduced so long as the alliance lasts.

2. Wages for new articles introduced after its formation may be settled on each works ; but either side can call upon the board to fix them.

3. The first bonus is also a fixture, as selling prices will not be reduced below the first level.

4. Any further bonus can only be paid on any increased actual profit. Any change in selling prices caused by advance in the prices of material, and not carried beyond, is exempt from further bonus.

5. All bonuses after the first are subject to a sliding scale whenever real profits are increased or decreased.

6. No strike or lockout is permitted unless in defence of the alliance. Then it is supported by both sides, and the expenses are divided.

7. In the event of any dispute to be referred to the board, workmen must accept employers' conditions and prices under protest. They cannot leave their employment or be discharged on account of the dispute ; but the settlement must be retroactive, so that no injustice may be done.

8. Each employer retains full control over his own works upon all matters but those pertaining to wages and bonus and conditions of labor. Workmen can be discharged for any other reason, and are themselves free to change their employment whenever they wish to do so.

9. The workmen's union must supply a sufficient number of good workpeople, and the board decides as to the necessity or otherwise of bringing new men into the trade.

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10. No restriction is placed upon any one wishing to come into the trade, so long as he agrees to sell on the lines laid down by the association, and to comply with the rules that govern competitors.

These are the broad outlines of the movement which is engaging so much attention. It may be of interest to my readers to receive some idea as to the success which the scheme has attained. It has had its failures in the sense that some trades trying to adopt it have failed to induce a sufficient number to undertake the experiment. Even in some of those trades which have adopted it there are a few outsiders who, for special reasons, though always at the cost of any profit they could have made, have managed to maintain their independence. One thing clearly proved has been, that this independence can be maintained only at a great sacrifice. Indifferent workpeople, whom the workmen will not take into their union, have to be engaged. Unnecessary expenses are incurred, and inferior productions produce their true effect. Hence, these outsiders are coming in one by one, and the circles are growing more complete week by week.

The movement so far has been successful. At present it controls, as nearly as I can judge, £50,000,000 capital, and numbers as its hearty adherents about 500 employers and some 30,000 workpeople. Trades in process of formation have not been included in this estimate. Many of them are on the waiting list. It would be misleading to mention all the trades that have taken up the movement. Some are firmly and permanently established: for example, the bedstead trade and its ally, the combination spring mattress trade; the fender trade, which is as strong as the bedstead trade; the China furniture trade, which is quite complete, and the electrical fittings trade, which is allied to it, and is one of the best associations in existence; the brass cased tube trade, the iron and steel close joint tube trade, the metal rolling trade, and the brass spun mount trade. Among the trades still in process of formation, and contending against difficulties, are the coffin furniture trade, the jet and rockingham trade, the potteries, brick, and marl trade, and the glass bottle trade.

I do not wish it to be assumed that the scheme has not its critics and its opponents. I am afraid it would not be worth consideration unless it had both. Criticism is as useful to this scheme as it would be to any other. Its opponents come from the ranks of those who either honestly think that the scheme is at variance with some economical doctrine in which they believe, or who, being the tricksters of commerce, can discern that it would number the days of their trickery.

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Each can console himself with whichever reason most appeals to his nature. But, in spite of criticism and opposition the scheme still goes on. There must be reasons for its continuance.

It is said an inventor is the last person in the world to judge his own invention ; but he is generally a very likely person to be able to point out the demerits of other inventions intended to accomplish the same purpose. I think no one will deny that there is an evil existing which ought not to be beyond the power of common sense to remedy. Is there any common sense in teaching an employer that his interest has no connection with the interests of his workpeople, without whom he cannot make money? But is not this the leading idea when trusts leave the workpeople out of the question? Is there not an acknowledgment that capital has power to subjugate all else? This may be true for the moment, and how few look beyond ! But it is not true as the ages determine truth. The eternal principles of right and justice will have to be recognized. To ride rough-shod over a right until it is almost trampled out of recognition does not bring about finality. It will rise again, and its claims will be stronger than before. And is there any more common sense in teaching workpeople that the interest which labor has in commerce has nothing in common with capital? In towns and cities labor cannot even live without the help of capital. The two are inseparable. Their interests, though not identical, are very closely allied.

It is right and expedient that, within the bounds of justice, capital should organize to do the best for itself. It is right and essential that labor should organize, having no power to demand justice without organization. But I see no reason why the two organizations should not combine to accomplish the same purpose—the securing of a living profit and a living wage.

This is no new theory, but I ask : What system actually in existence really secures the living profit and the living wage, on the acknowledgment of both sides, except the one I am advocating? I do not say that none exists. Should no one be able to produce a case, it seems necessary to point out specifically the reasons why the system I advocate is expected to do what is required, and why it *has* done it in every case where it has been properly tried. Briefly they are as follows :

a. It recognizes that unity is strength, whether among employers or employed.

b. It insists upon employers ascertaining beyond dispute the real

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cost of production before deciding upon the selling price, which *must* show a fair profit.

c. It acknowledges that if, by organization, employers are able to obtain a fair profit, it is their duty to pay their employees a fair wage, *which they are compelled to pay.*

d. It welds both sides into a compact body for the mutual purpose of insisting that all concerned shall have justice done to them according to the agreement made, and that both sides shall work together with this object. All this is done by set rules and agreements, accepted on either hand after full consideration of all interests involved.

These interests include the manufacturer, the workman, the buyer, and the consumer. Should injustice be done to either there is something wrong with the system. The first two arrange matters to suit themselves, and may be dismissed. The third is often brought into consultation, but must in any case be benefited. In any ordinary trade low prices to the buyer mean low prices to the consumer, and the lower the prices the smaller the interest on the turnover, as the amount of the former is regulated by the size of the latter. Competition among retailers is as strong as competition among manufacturers, and anything gained in buying is at once given away in selling. Only the wise buyers grasp this fact.

This brings us to the fourth class—the consumer. I have pleaded for justice, but justice must apply all around. I might ask whether the trusts of America have any consideration for the rights of the consumer? I will not, because I cannot, answer the question. I only know that in England they regard nothing but the power by which money can be quickly made. This is sometimes possible ; but in England it is by no means certain. The race is not always to the swift. That time works revenges is shown by the Hooley fiasco, and various disasters that preceded it. The consumer, therefore, has time on his side ; but I do not think he should be left out of the bargain at the beginning. Unfortunately, he has no voice in it ; but, having time on his side, he is always safe. During a "boom" he pays more than he ought to pay; and he pays less than he ought during a "slump." The system I advocate puts "booms" and "slumps" out of the question ; consequently, he ought to be considered among the other people concerned. This is an inviting subject and deserves an article in itself. I can only summarize here. I shall put it in this way :

1. The consumer has never yet had the protection of a selling price

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based on the cost of production ascertained by the wisdom and experience of a whole trade. Under this system he is sure to get it.

2. Under a trust, or monopoly of any kind, capital alone decides what he shall pay. Under this system the poorest class of consumer, the workman, has a voice in determining the price at which articles shall be sold to himself—and others.

3. Should unjust selling prices drive away trade, the bonus on wages paid to workpeople will not compensate them for loss of time caused by slackness of trade. They will therefore not consent to unjust selling prices, although these may bring them larger bonuses. Their consent is necessary under the terms of alliance.

4. Under this system no restriction is placed upon any one wishing to enter a trade, excepting that of not selling goods without the right proportion of profit on the cost of production. The result is, that the consumer has no impediment in the way of making the goods for himself, should he care to do so.

What more the consumer can desire I do not know. In the past he has been paying either too little—in which case he ought to be made to pay more—or he has been paying too much—in which case he will be relieved—or he has been paying just enough. In the latter case, no combination will be considered necessary—at the moment. I do not know of such a trade, but there may be one—say at Timbuctoo.

There is much more to be said; but it cannot be said here. I can only hope that my readers may be willing to examine for themselves the principles involved in this scheme. E. J. Smith.

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STATE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS IN THE OLD NORTHWEST.

THE sources of history in the West are largely of recent origin, and are therefore abundant. Not a few of the real history makers of that region are yet alive; and those who have passed on have left with their children, now men and women, the record, more or less complete, of their pioneer experiences, together with a mass of tradition which may yet be verified out of the mouths of living witnesses, in many instances supplying essential data for future historians. The States created from the territory now termed "The Old Northwest" are taking no chances in the matter of collecting and preserving this material. Most of them are doing more than the work of collectors; being to a greater or a less degree their own chroniclers, their own historiographers. These States are doing what local historical societies and State historical associations, aided and unaided, have long been doing in the East. In regard to this section Hinsdale says:

"Save New England alone, there is no section of the United States embracing several States that is so distinct an historical unit, and that so readily yields to historical treatment, as the Old Northwest. It is the part of the Great West first discovered and colonized by the French. It was the occasion of the final struggle for dominion between France and England in North America. It was the theatre of one of the most brilliant and far-reaching military exploits of the Revolution. The disposition to be made of it at the close of the Revolution is the most important territorial question treated in the history of American diplomacy. . . It was the first and the most important Territory ever organized by Congress. . . No other equal part of the Union has made in one hundred years such progress along the characteristic lines of American development."

Ohio is rich in local, district, and State historical associations, as well as in the material of which history is made. All the wars of our pioneer period found battle-grounds within the borders of that State. The first movement for the perpetuation of its history was in 1839, when the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio was organized. Local and district organizations prepared the way for the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, founded in 1885.

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The work of this organization must form the basis of much of Ohio's history. Supplemented by that of the Ohio Church History Society, the Western Reserve Historical Society, and the many district and county old settlers' associations, it forms a valuable aggregation.

The leading spirit in the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was Gen. Brinkerhoff, through whose efforts the State appropriated $2,500 for an archæological exhibit at the Centennial Exposition of 1876. The first president of the society was Allen G. Thurman. His successors have been Francis C. Sessions, Rutherford B. Hayes, and Roeliff Brinkerhoff. In 1894, the secretaryship was turned over to E. O. Randall, to whom we are indebted for several volumes of history, archæology, and biography. The State has not as yet assumed any part of the burden and expense of collecting and preserving historical material, presumably because of the strength of existing organizations and the excellence of the work they are doing.

Indiana has a State organization which, unaided, has done good, but far too little, work. The first record we have of the Indiana Historical Society is of a meeting held in the House of Representatives in 1830, at which a discourse was delivered by Andrew Wylie, D.D., president of Indiana College. In 1853, the society published a lecture on the early history of Indianapolis, by Nathaniel Bolton. In 1886, a series of papers was begun, entitled "Indiana Historical Society Pamphlets," covering several chapters of early State and of Northwestern history. Among the more notable of these pamphlets are: "The Laws and Courts of Northwest and Indiana Territories," by Daniel Waite Howe; "The Acquisition of Louisiana," by Judge Thomas M. Cooley; "Documents relating to the French Settlements on the Wabash," and "Slavery Petitions and Papers," by Jacob Piatt Dunn.

Though Indiana has not yet created a historical department, popular interest in historical research and collections is making itself felt at the State capital; and it is safe to predict that, with characteristic Hoosier liberality, this measure of protection against the ravages of time will soon be taken. The last legislature of Indiana voted a small appropriation as a printing fund for the State Historical Society; thus recognizing the value of historical publications, and encouraging the hope that the next legislature may make provision for the preservation of the collections within reach of a State so rich in history and tradition.

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The work of collecting and preserving materials for history began early in Illinois. In 1827, the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois was formed at Vandalia. The most important event in this connection was the organization, in 1856, of the Chicago Historical Society, which has since published, nearly every year, valuable historical material. In fact, the archives of this society contain a large part of the history of the present middle West and of the Northwest of other days. The society suffered heavy losses from the two great Chicago fires. In the first, the original manuscript copy of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was destroyed.

The State Historical Library and Natural History Museum of Illinois was created in 1877; but the organization was not satisfactory, and, in 1889, an act was passed, establishing, in fact as well as in name, a State Historical Library. Its three trustees were made appointees of the Governor, by and with the consent of the Senate. The sum of $2,000 is now appropriated annually to meet the expenses of the library.

An excellent feature of the Illinois law connects the counties with the State Historical Library by authorizing every county board of supervision or board of county commissioners to direct to be transferred to the State Historical Library any official papers, drawings, maps, and writing of historic interest or value. This act became a law in 1897. Under its provisions the board of supervisors of Sangamon County recently caused to be transferred to the State Historical Library from the Sangamon County records, all papers in the handwriting of Abraham Lincoln, all papers in which his name is mentioned, and several which refer to him indirectly. In these documents his name appears as a voter and as a clerk of election. This collection includes also the marriage license of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln.

President Beckwith, of the Library Board, in a recent report to the Governor, strongly presents the claims of the present and of future generations to the filling in of data now accessible and necessary to complete the history of the State; explaining also the profit which would accrue to the State, and to the world as well, from a thorough exploration, survey, and photographic representation of the so-called "American Bottom, rich in remains of an unknown people." He speaks of the wide space in our history that can be filled only from manuscripts in Canada, France, and England. "The want of this crude matter has balked all attempts to write a history of our State that is true, connected, or at all satisfactory." His statements give

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emphasis to the mission of the Historical Library of Illinois, and to the value of historical research and collection.

The first movement toward the collecting and the preservation of historical material in Michigan was State-wide in its scope and purpose. The Historical Society of Michigan was founded in 1828. At the first meeting, in 1829, Gen. Lewis Cass delivered an address on "Early Settlements in Michigan." Another notable address was delivered in 1830, by H. R. Schoolcraft, the eminent ethnologist and explorer, on the "Indian Tribes of the Upper Lakes." In 1834 these addresses were printed, with other historical matter. This organization found a vigorous successor in the Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan, organized in Lansing in 1874, and still doing excellent work. Its collections, printed by the State, are valuable additions to history. Among these are many copies of original documents taken from Canadian archives, a reprint of Marquette's journal, and documentary history of the siege of Detroit and of the Indian wars.

The first legislative movement for the preservation of Michigan's pioneer history was an excellent one as such. In 1873, an act was passed providing for the incorporation of local associations "for the purpose of collecting and preserving historical, biographical, or other information, in relation to the State of Michigan, or any portion thereof." These associations were directed to make annual reports to the State Librarian, accompanied by historical papers read at their meetings or contributed by their members. The law so far anticipated the future organization of a State Historical Society as to direct the secretary, "should a State association be organized under this act," to make and transmit to the State Librarian reports, copies of papers read, etc. The next step of progress was in 1881, when an act was passed appropriating $2,500 a year for the use of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Under a recent ruling of this society its collections are sent to all incorporated school libraries, including the district schools and the granges of Michigan.

No other State in the West has done so well as Wisconsin in encouraging historical research and collections. For this important service the world is indebted chiefly to four men: the pioneer in the new field, Dr. Lyman C. Draper, first secretary of the State Historical Society; his trained assistant and able successor, Reuben G. Thwaites, present secretary of that society, author of several notable historical works; Daniel S. Durrie, first librarian of the society; and his successor, Isaac S. Bradley, present librarian.

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The historical collections of this society, fourteen volumes to date, constitute a compendium of the history of Wisconsin and of "The Old Northwest." In many lines of research these collections are exhaustive; in other lines they are so suggestive as to simplify the problem of modern research and to make comparatively easy the detailed work of the twentieth-century historian. These collections include a large quantity of original material descriptive of the aborigines of Wisconsin, and a wealth of folk-lore, both Indian and pioneer. They make straight for the student of history the paths chosen by the Jesuit fathers and by the pioneer traders who followed in their wake. They throw a flood of light on the antiquities of Wisconsin and of much of the Upper Lake country. The history of the Indian wars which made Wisconsin a battle-ground is here embedded; awaiting the time when sufficient perspective shall have been attained to enable the historiographer to complete the work so well begun.

This society has printed, in addition to full proceedings of its meetings, a large number of documents, addresses, and papers. Notable among these are: Secretary Thwaites' memoir of his distinguished predecessor; "The Northwest in the Nation," by Theodore Roosevelt; "Henry Gratiot," by Elihu B. Washburne; "The Higher Education of the People," by Herbert B. Adams; "Missions on Chequamegon Bay," by John Nelson Davidson; a number of papers on prehistoric pottery of the Mississippi Valley; "Bibliography of Wisconsin Authors;" and "Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files," prepared under the direction of the secretary and the librarian.

Going back a little, to 1846, three years before Wisconsin became a State, a historical society was organized in Madison; its membership being made up of delegates to the first Constitutional Convention. Soon after the opening of the first legislature, in 1849, another society was formed, chiefly of members of the legislature, with Nelson Dewey, first Governor of Wisconsin, as its president. For three years the usefulness of the organization was confined to the issuing of a few addresses. The society was seeking the man. On finding him, in 1852, it seriously entered upon its work. In January, 1854, at the age of thirty-nine, after a successful career of fifteen years in collecting material for the history of the middle West and South, Lyman C. Draper found his way from Philadelphia to Madison, and entered upon the duties of secretary of the reorganized State Historical Society of Wisconsin. From that date to his death he was the soul of the

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movement which has placed Wisconsin first among Western States in the extent and importance of her contributions to history.

In 1877, the State took upon itself the entire financial burden of the society's work. The organization as then effected is still in force; consisting of thirty-six curators chosen by the society, the secretary, the librarian, the Governor of the State, the Secretary of State, and the State Treasurer. It began its career as a State institution with a meagre appropriation of $500. Its present annual appropriation for books, etc., with the sums allowed for salaries, printing, binding, and incidentals, amounts to about $15,000 a year. In 1897, the annual appropriation for books, etc., was increased from $5,000 to $15,000 "from and after the time the society shall occupy the new building;" making a total of about $25,000 commencing with the year 1900. This is the most liberal appropriation made solely for historical purposes by any State in the Union.

An admirable feature of the Wisconsin law is the encouragement given to local historical societies and the utilization of their work. Local bodies without capital stock may be incorporated for the general purposes for which the State Historical Society was created, and as auxiliary to that society in the collecting of material illustrative of the history of the State. The Grand Army and other patriotic bodies are entitled to this benefit; and any such auxiliary is entitled to a vote in any general meeting of the State Historical Society. The State Society is permitted to aid in the organization of these local bodies, in order to provide for annual and other meetings; and it may include in its reports as much of the proceedings of such meetings as may be deemed desirable, each auxiliary to receive a copy of each publication of the State Society.

Special mention should be made of the new Historical Library building now nearing completion at Wisconsin's State capital. After years of agitation the legislature, in 1895, voted a tax of a tenth of a mill on the assessed valuation of the State for seven years, for the erection of a home for the State Historical Library and the State University Library, the building to be erected on a site adjoining the campus of the State University. The legislature of 1897 supplemented the liberality of its predecessor. It is expected that this noble structure will be completed and ready for occupancy late in the year 1900. The cost of its erection, fitting, and furnishing will be about $750,000. It will be one of the largest, best-equipped, and most beautiful structures of the kind in the world. The building will house

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a half-million volumes. None of the many modern improvements in library arrangement, or in general architectural adaptation of means to ends, is omitted in the construction.

Minnesota is entitled to first place among commonwealths for promptness in recognizing the right of coming generations to know the true story of their past. The territory of Minnesota was organized on March 3, 1849. On the third day of the following September the first territorial legislature convened; and the fifth act passed by that legislature was a grant of a charter to the Minnesota Historical Society. Under this charter the society organized on the 15th of the following November. It had its origin in the conviction of a few far-seeing and public-spirited men, that the growth and possibilities of their territory and of the Northwest put upon the progressive men of their time the duty of collecting and preserving true records of their era and of their region. With a degree of complacency wholly warranted they saw that, in the near future, their own time would be scarcely less interesting—with its history of forest-felling, prairie-braking, community-planting, railroad-building, and commonwealth-making—than the era of the explorer, the hunter, the trapper, and the missionary.

The first annual meeting of the society, in 1850, was a notable gathering, not in numbers, but in character and in the interest it awakened outside. The address delivered on that occasion was on "The French Voyageurs to Minnesota during the Seventeenth Century," by the Rev. Edward D. Neill, one of the noble band of missionaries that did much to mould aright the character of the new commonwealth.

Prof. Henry, head of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington at the time, wrote to Gen. Sibley: "In my last report to the regents, I have taken an occasion to allude to the formation of an historical society in the territory of Minnesota as a laudable example to be followed by other new parts of our Union." A New York paper, commenting on the prompt action of Minnesota's pioneer legislature, used these prophetic words: "There is nothing too flattering to predict of the future greatness of a people who commence to write their history as soon as the foundations of their commonwealth are laid."

From 1850 to 1853, the society printed yearly reports of its meetings and collections. In 1851, the aid of the Smithsonian Institution was obtained for the publication of a grammar and dictionary of the

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Dakota language, edited by S. R. Riggs and other members of the Dakota Mission. In the same year, a paper was prepared for the society by the ever present Schoolcraft, on "The History and Physical Geography of Minnesota." The first address delivered by that staunch supporter of the claims of the future on the present, Gen. H. H. Sibley, was in 1853, in the House of Representatives. Its subject was "The Life and Services of Jean N. Nicollet."

For several years after the admission of Minnesota into the Union the society virtually lapsed. In 1863, it was resuscitated; and during the next five years the State renewed a former small appropriation to meet its expenses. In 1869, the appropriation was increased. In 1880, its members paid Minneapolis, the new and fast-growing rival of St. Paul, the compliment of meeting in that city, to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of Father Hennepin's discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony. In 1887, the State increased its appropriation for historical collection to $6,000 a year.

After many vicissitudes, the society is looking forward to the occupancy of at least three times the space now accorded it; commodious quarters having been assigned it in the new Capitol building to be completed within the next two years. With more than 62,000 volumes and pamphlets, and with a newspaper collection of 4,000 bound volumes, including complete files of State and territorial newspapers from 1849 to date, Minnesota is wise in making liberal provision for the preservation of its treasures. Regarded merely as an investment, these possessions are worth in the market many times the total of money appropriated for historical collections.

The State publications include eight volumes of collections; the first being a reissue of the issue of 1850–6. Among the specially valuable papers, not already mentioned, are Gen. Sibley's reminiscences, memoirs, and sketches; "The Settlement and Development of the Red River Valley," by Warren Upham, present secretary of the society; "The Discovery and Development of Iron Ores of Minnesota," by Prof. Winchell; "Early Days of Minnesota Territory," by Henry L. Moss; "Lawyers and Courts of Minnesota prior to and during its Territorial Period," by Judge Flandreau; "Prehistoric Man at the Headwaters of the Mississippi River," by J. V. Brower; "History of Agriculture in Minnesota," by James J. Hill; and "Fort Snelling from its Foundation to the Present Time," by Gen. Richard W. Johnson.

The State Historical Society of Iowa was the first to publish the

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work of the State's history-makers. Its first report was made in 1857. In 1863, the "Annals of Iowa" appeared from Iowa City, edited by S. S. Howe. The "Annals" continued till 1874, making twelve valuable volumes. In 1882, it was revived by Mr. Howe. In 1885, the society took up the work, but soon allowed it to lapse. In 1892, the "Annals of Iowa" was revived at the State Capitol, by Hon. Charles Aldrich, curator of the Historical Department, and its publication was assumed by the State. The "Annals" numbers among its contributors most of the prominent men of the State; and its four volumes, with the several volumes of the old series, constitute material from which a large part of the history of Iowa might judiciously be made.

Since 1860 the State Historical Society has regularly issued biennial reports. Since 1885 the "Iowa Historical Record" has been issued quarterly from this source. The society has published a number of valuable papers, among them "Prehistoric Iowa," by Samuel Calvin, State geologist; "Iowa Indians," by J. L. Pickard, ex-president of the State University; "The Louisiana Purchase," by C. M. Hobby; "The Introduction of the Common Law into Iowa," by Chancellor McClain; "Early Medical Practitioners," by William Wilson; "Leaders in Iowa before 1858," by Leonard F. Parker; "The Early Bar of Iowa," by Theodore S. Parvin, librarian of the territory of Iowa and founder of the Iowa Masonic Library; also a paper by Barthinias Wick, on "The Amish Mennonites;" and "Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa," edited by Prof. Shambaugh, of the State University.

Iowa contributes $1,000 a year to the support of this pioneer organization. The curators of this society are eighteen in number, nine of whom are appointed by the Governor and nine elected by members of the society. From 1866 to the present time the Hon. Henry W. Lathrop, a pioneer journalist and the biographer of Iowa's war Governor, Samuel J. Kirkwood, has been secretary of this society.

Not until 1892 did Iowa as a State waken to the full importance of collecting and preserving material for its history. But, once roused, it moved with celerity and cumulative force. Behind the movement, begun early in the eighties, was the well-directed enthusiasm of Mr. Aldrich, a life-long student of history and a pioneer journalist and law-maker. Long before Mr. Aldrich threw his own personality into the work, the Aldrich collection had attained so much celebrity that the man behind it represented all that was required to create a State historical department. And when, in 1884, the time

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came to act, he donated to the State his entire collection of Indian relics, autograph letters, manuscripts, etc., on condition that suitable provision be made for housing, classifying, cataloguing, and caring for it.

The State promptly accepted the gift, but was slow to comply with the conditions. In 1892, it provided rooms in the basement of the Capitol building, and created the office of Curator of the Historical Department, Mr. Aldrich accepting the place. The act creating the Historical Department appropriated the sum of $7,500 annually for two years, and the sum of $6,000 annually thereafter. The Board of the State Library, composed of the Governor, the Secretary of State, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the six judges of the supreme court, became the trustees of the new department also. Two years later the county histories and file of newspapers in the State library were transferred to the Historical Department. A movement is now on foot to transfer all the miscellaneous works in the State library to the library of the Historical Department; thus creating a historical library of about 35,000 volumes. This department now has a historical and general library of several thousand volumes, many of them of great value, especially its collection of books relating to the American Indians, and the two thousand bound volumes of newspaper files.

The foundation is laid for a beautiful and capacious Historical Building at the State capital, to be devoted to the uses of Iowa's Historical Department. On the 17th of May last, the corner-stone was laid with imposing ceremonies. The occasion, notable in several respects, was made chiefly memorable by the able historical address delivered by John A. Kasson, a veteran legislator of Iowa and for many years our representative at the court of Austria. The entire structure will cost about $300,000. It is to be built of a beautiful gray stone, quarried at Legrand, Iowa. It is in modern renaissance style. The wings are sixty-eight feet square, and the whole structure, 250 by 100 feet. The west wing is completed and ready for occupancy.

Nebraska's output of historical documents begins and ends with the reports and collections of its State Historical Society, which began its career in 1878. The first volume of the "Transactions and Proceedings" of this society was issued in 1885. The fifth volume of this first series was issued in 1893. Thereafter the title was changed to "Proceedings and Collections," of which the first

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volume was issued in 1894–5, the second appearing in 1898. Volume III issued from the press in April, 1899. These eight volumes are full of valuable material relating to the history of Nebraska and the plains region. The principal reprints have been: "Extracts from the Diary of Rev. Moses Merrill, Missionary to the Otoes, 1832–1840;" "Constitution and other papers relating to the Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory in 1852," together with the diary of its governor, William Walker; and the diary of Abelard Guthrie, a pioneer representative in Congress. These constitute volume III, second series, 1899. "Forty Years of Nebraska in Congress," written by ex-Senator Tipton, is soon to be issued as volume IV, second series.

Since the beginning, in 1883, the State has appropriated for the work the sum of $23,000. The biennial appropriation for the two years, 1899–1901, is $5,000.

At the annual meeting of the Kansas Editors' and Publishers' Association, in 1875, a resolution was adopted providing for a committee to organize a State Historical Society "for the purpose of saving the present and past records of Kansas' eventful history." This committee, with others, met in Topeka, in 1875, and organized the State Historical Society of Kansas, which has done much toward perpetuating the records of a State whose history from 1850 to 1860, speaking broadly, is the history of this country during that decade of anti-slavery agitation. A constitution was adopted which provides for a board of directors, to be elected by the active members of the society. These are chiefly editors, publishers, and authors. Presidents of the universities and colleges in the State are corresponding members. Beginning with 1877, the legislature at each regular session has made annual appropriations of $3,000 to meet the expenses of the society and for the purchase of books. In 1899, this sum was raised to $5,140.

In 1877, the Kansas State Historical Society published an account of its organization, an explanation of its objects, and a list of its collections. Biennial reports have followed. In 1881, the society issued a proposition for a union of the miscellaneous books of the Kansas State Library with those of the Historical Library. In that year appeared volumes I and II of the biennial report, which formed the basis of a series of reports scarcely second to any in historical value. These cover memorials of the governors of the territory and accounts of Indian raids and border wars. Subsequent volumes include the political history of the territory and the State; the quarter-centen-

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nial address of ex-Governor Denver in 1861; the story of the great immigration during "the swarming years from 1822 to 1850;" the story of the slavery agitation in the fifties and the resulting border warfare and of John Brown's part in forcing conclusions on that issue.

The society was fortunate in its choice of secretary. That important position was held from the first by the late Franklin G. Adams. Himself a shrewd collector and a historiographer of marked ability, his contributions to history have been numerous and are of rare value. His reports are admirable in selection, arrangement, and presentation. His eleventh biennial report, published in 1898, shows that the society has gathered a library of 102,000 volumes: 20,000 of bound books, 20,000 bound volumes of newspapers and magazines, and more than 60,000 unbound books and pamphlets, besides a large number of pictures and curios.

The society is doing a remarkable work in the collection of newspaper files, especially in gathering and saving the local newspapers of the State. With scarcely an exception the editors of Kansas have given the library the regular issue of their papers. In its twenty-three years the society has gathered a library of more than 15,000 volumes of Kansas periodicals. This is undoubtedly the largest library of local historical material of the kind in any State in the Union.

This review of results attained in historical research and collecting, in "The Old Northwest" and in neighboring States beyond the Mississippi, though presented in outline only, must impress the reader with the extent and thoroughness of the work done in most of those States, and with the great value of all the work done in all those States as so much first-hand contribution to history. May it also serve as a timely suggestion to the States that have not yet improved the opportunities which the present affords them for collecting and handing over to the future the records of their past.

JOHNSON BRIGHAM.

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ENGLAND AND THE HIGHER MORALITY.

As there is a higher criticism, which to some is a stumbling-block, but to the intelligent is a rock giving a wider and truer view, so there is a higher morality.

The course of ordinary ethical teaching is indeed not always clear. To illustrate: There is a natural untruthfulness which no one regards as sinful. Every weak animal that escapes death by deceiving the pursuer acts the lie God has taught it. So little children in their weakness are natural liars. We do not stigmatize the baby as a sinner. We teach him that his lie is an offence, and that he will sin if, knowing the offence, he lies again. For the adult the question in its simplest form appears in the old query: Is it right to tell a lie to save a human life? The problem becomes more complicated when self-interest enters as a factor, as in the story of the traveller who to save himself from pillage betrayed his companion. But after the robbers were gone he reimbursed the sufferer twice over; remarking that while the latter had only ten pounds to lose he himself would have lost ten times that sum had he been searched.

We call this, not quite rightly, Jesuitical. But to take up now the real position of the Jesuit, his error lies in the assumption that the good of his sect represents the highest good. In so far as he errs in this his moral code lacks a broad support. If instead of one church party we put the human race, are we not justified in saying that what without a doubt conduces to the advantage of the race cannot be essentially sinful?

Of course, there must be no doubt; and since human fallibility is augmented by selfish considerations, no one man can be an unbiassed arbiter of his own rectitude. Nor may any one people plume itself on doing evil that good may come of it; for it may err in interpreting the work it accomplishes. But, if by general consent the result is good, as far as it is humanly possible to decide, what then?

Certainly, as science has taught us, the great principle which has been carried out in the advancement of humanity has always been that of the greatest good of the greatest number. Whatever has opposed

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this has had to yield. This is not an entirely new doctrine. It is in truth a curious historical accident that the same principle was enunciated in India more than two thousand years ago. As this, I believe, is not generally known, and as there is a certain irony of fate in the circumstance, as I shall show directly, I may perhaps be pardoned if I take a moment to dwell on this interesting fact.

In one of the didactic interludes which characterize the great epic of India two sages discuss the question of the highest good. One says, "Truth is the best thing, there is nothing higher than truth." "Yes," says the other, "so say the sages, 'Truth is the highest'; but I say there is something higher than truth, that which is best for the most." For, to the Hindu truth represents what *is;* but the best is what may be, if we are not discouraged in our advance toward that which is better.

I have said that there is a certain irony of fate in the fact that this principle of the greatest good for the greatest number was first taught in India. The race that taught it has indeed experienced a fiery trial; but it has proved the proposition. It was a lesson hard to learn, and even now there are some that have not learned it. For was it not a victory for immorality when England seized province after province in India? On the surface of things and by narrow ethical laws India has been unjustly robbed. England has indeed acquired some of her possessions there by fair and open fighting, without treachery; yet there are cases where, by the admission of her own historians, deceit has been the means employed to win the empire of the East. But what is the result?

A few years ago I went to India with a mind which I own was prejudiced against England. My studies had been chiefly of Indian literature; and my sympathies were naturally with the gentle race that had produced Veda and Vedânta rather than with the tyrant that now swayed India's sad fate. In consequence of daily conversations with a young Brahmin who chanced to be my voyage companion, this feeling began to abate. He pointed out to me that the rough Englishmen on board regarded him—an educated gentleman of the highest caste—as an inferior creature; and I did not like his tone of weak complaint. He told me of his personal wrongs and of his country's injuries: he could not get a good place; his province had been unjustly annexed to the empire; taxes were high and imposed frequently; the Baboos were not allowed to hold the highest offices (I learned with amazement that they held most of the smaller offices); laws against caste were enforced (*i.e.*, sanitary rules); etc.

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As a result of our constant confabulations I was convinced, by the time I reached Bombay, that the Hindus were at present incapable of self-government. Indeed, I asked the young Baboo whether, if the English should leave the country to-day, their departure would be welcomed by his caste and nation? "No," he said with some hesitation. "And why not?" "Why," said he, "in a month's time the Punjabis would be raiding Calcutta, and the Mahrattas would be cutting all the throats in Rajputana."

That is just it. And as I went from province to province in India, the impression deepened that of all the fortunes India had experienced in the last three thousand years the acquisition of English sovereignty was the happiest. Where misrule was the rule, there is order; where injustice was habitual, it is unknown. Robbery and murder, which were professional occupations, have been robbed of charm and greatly restrained by a strict police and stern sentences. But, above all, in place of rival courts, petty wars, and lack of any far-seeing plans for general improvement, the great imperial system has cemented the country together, and has done more for its final redemption in the building of railways alone than a thousand years of native rule could have accomplished. In my opinion, there is nothing in the world's history except the Roman Empire that can compare in executive ability with the marvellous administration of India. But unlike the provinces of the former state, the country is itself advantaged. England makes little out of India. The Hindus do not believe this, and that sad item of *regular* taxes is a never-failing plaint. They wish themselves back in the good old times when the marauding bands taxed only once in ten years—because when they descended on a village and taxed it, they knew there would be nothing worth looting in that village for ten years to come. As a matter of fact, the taxes are less than they used to be; justice is to be had for the first time; education is open to all; charity does more than ever before to cover the want bred of a people's thriftlessness. For this, India has to thank England—that sinful nation that robbed the prince and stole the province.

I do not blink the sins of which this good has been the result. Both in India and elsewhere England's course has at times been marked by rapacity and insincerity. Nor would I maintain even that she has acted from the mistaken moral principle of doing evil that good may come of it. She has not taken all she could; but she has seized much that she could have left untouched, and seized it simply for gain. Her gain, nevertheless, has been the gain of those she has absorbed. More

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than this: there are kingdoms now in India which have not yet passed under English rule. There is the miserable Begum whose bank was broken a few years ago by the Lucknow scoundrels who ran her kingdom for her, and whose subjects to-day pay the heavy cost of her criminal weakness. It will be a blessed hour for her country when England, by fair means or foul, deposes her and assumes the rôle of sovereign. There is the wretched kingdom, the centre of which is Jeypore in Rajputana. The king is lewd, vicious, and incapable; the realm is practically administered by a Calcutta Baboo and a Presbyterian clergyman. Giving the latter all the credit due to him, the fact remains that it will be better for the people of that district when the Raja is no longer the supreme authority.

I must confess that in the consideration of these facts lies, as far as I can see, the solution of the ethical puzzle presented to us in the present war in Africa. Granted that, from the point of view of the narrow moralist, the Boers are right; that England holds to-day no suzerainty over the republic; that even what she claims to hold does not entitle her to demand what she requires of the Boers; that the war is in reality of her own making; that it is a conflict she has forced upon a free people; and that she has forced it for her own advantage. But there is a higher morality. The Boers are free to make their own laws; but they have abused freedom. They have sought to defend their corporate existence by a narrow-minded policy which has not worked for good, either to the Boers themselves, to England, or to the world at large. Is it not possible that there is a law working on larger lines for the good of all, and that England is only an instrument for the furtherance of the moral law which finds practical expression in the attainment by the human race of greater benefit? It is at any rate certain that, in the successive struggles for national domination, every victory in the long run has benefited man and raised him higher, even at the cost of the violation of ordinary ethical standards on the part of the victors. Even Poland and Ireland will have to admit this hereafter, as Brittany can admit it to-day. Is there not here a counterpart in the moral world to the inflexible severity of physical laws, whereby the maintenance of the race is upheld at the sacrifice of individuals? In the end, as far as man is concerned, the survival of the fittest is the success of the most civilized, or of those who potentially at least represent humanity's progress.

We ourselves have not followed the recognized code of morality in our treatment of the Indians. We have robbed them on slight pre-

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texts. Yet, on the whole, despite the sin and sorrow of it, our conquest represents moral advance, the Indian represents moral inertia. And, if advance can come in no other way, better advance than stagnation. For it is the law of progress for mankind in general that is illustrated in every racial subsidence before a higher plane of manhood. Therefore Spain bends to America, for ours is the right of way by the higher law of racial superiority. So, whether just or unjust, by the foot-rule of man's code, England's battle in Africa is in effect a moral struggle in behalf of good to the human race. For there can be no question but that when English laws and English polity have taken the place of Boer laws and Boer polity, the condition of affairs in South Africa will be improved—not only from the English point of view, but from that of other nations, for whose advantage, consciously or unconsciously, Britain is now battling.

I hold no brief for England; but while she serves God and man I rejoice in her triumphs. For God is served when man is bettered, and wherever England has taken her stand man has been bettered. This is the case in India. This is true of Egypt. It is true of the many little lands she holds round the earth. It will be proved again in Africa when Boer authority yields to her higher civilization.

WASHBURN HOPKINS.

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RECONSTRUCTION IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

THE criticism is persistently made in various quarters to the effect that theological education is in some respects defective, that it does not meet the demands which are made upon the clergyman of modern times. It is claimed that the progress made in the theological seminary cannot compare with the advances in the plan and scope of the work undertaken by the schools of the other liberal professions. It is, indeed, vigorously asserted that the ideals of research and intellectual industry which have been developed in the graduate courses of the best universities have affected the divinity school less than any other department of study; so that much remains to be done before the school can be said to be abreast of the educational movement of the last quarter of the present century.

That the highest type of intellectual life and of habits of thought-industry has not been developed in the theological schools is the opinion of intelligent laymen, who are saying that if their minister has become a forceful and helpful preacher it is largely in spite of his work at the divinity school rather than because of it. It is said that the ablest and spiritually most ambitious of the divinity students feel this lack, and that many men are turned aside to avenues of study and work in which the opportunities are superior. It is even whispered that while many choice men are still entering the ministry the congregations are steadily becoming intellectually superior to the average ministers, and that this is the reason why the Church is in danger of losing, in some respects, its hold on ethical leadership, and its influence upon the larger movements of modern times. Not only is this criticism made, but at times it is alleged, and with some degree of bitterness, that these defects are not recognized by those who control theological education, that the theological seminary has so isolated itself from the real work and problems of life that it knows altogether too little of the stress, temptations, and sorrows of the world of to-day.

The question at issue is not whether these criticisms have been accurately thought out and precisely formulated, but whether the points

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are sufficiently well taken to call for serious consideration. Nor does the question relate to the correctness of the theological dogmas taught in these schools. It is rather with the method followed in these institutions, the scope of their work, and the actual results secured that we have to deal. Education as such is the problem under discussion, not soundness of doctrine. In many ways the theme under consideration is the more fundamental of the two, inasmuch as correctness in mental habits and sincerity in thought-processes are absolutely essential to correctness of view. Plato's doctrine in the "Ideal Republic," that only philosophers are fit to rule, has an important bearing upon the revival of leadership among the clergymen of modern times. Capacity to think accurately and honestly will always be the power of leadership; and the function of the teacher is still to lead others to solve problems rather than to assert opinions arbitrarily and dogmatically. It is certainly true that the thought of the Church, not only during the past few years but ever since the great theological discussions of the Reformation, has been so centred upon questions of belief that comparatively little consideration has been given to the pedagogical condition of theological education. No one seems to have written upon this important theme, and no adequate history of the schools that have been set apart for this work has been issued.

It is generally accepted that the theological seminary is the outgrowth of previous conditions and that it has not modified its educational ideals to any great extent. Not only are the subjects the same, but the methods of study and instruction have not greatly changed during a period in which other professional schools have had valuable and radical modification in their plans of organization and educational processes. This fact alone raises a query as to whether the criticism may not have some just ground. Every department of education has undergone important changes; and college and university education has been so radically reconstructed that the graduate of fifty years ago is asking himself whether he really received a college training. The philosophy of education is being carefully studied and wrought out for all stages of human development, from early childhood on through the college and the university; and the question is seriously asked of those in charge of our divinity schools to what extent the theological seminary has profited by this advance. Has it kept abreast of the reforms that silently, but surely, are bringing their revolution into the schools of the world? What is there in the schools of divinity that corresponds to the work carried on in the laboratories of the univer-

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sities? What is done in these schools to make the divinity student a man of original research, to develop in him the power of independent thought, to produce that enlarged capacity for intellectual activity which other students are finding in the graduate courses of Germany, England, and America?

Great teachers are superior to their schools, and earnest students in all times will seek great masters. But whether or not a Clement, an Augustine, a Luther, or an Edwards comes and goes, the question still remains as to the effectiveness of the schools of theology as they exist at the present time. It would be poor educational philosophy to assert that, inasmuch as the truths of revelation have not changed the schools that seek to teach them do not need to change. The laws of chemistry have not changed, but the college or the university that seeks to teach this science without a modern laboratory will never produce chemists.

Space being limited, I shall attempt in this article to suggest only four points where the alleged defects in theological education may exist.

1. *Philosophy.* The student of theology who expects to be a leader of men must become preëminently a thinker rather than a mere asserter of theological dogma. The Protestant movement, from earliest times on through the Oriel controversy and into the intense discussion of the past quarter of a century, has maintained, subjectively and objectively, the rationality of theological truth and the supremacy of the human reason over against mere authoritative declaration. The great symbols of doctrine have been, and must be, tested by the reasoning processes; and hence this highest form of intellectual activity must dominate in the life of the divinity student.

The undergraduate course is looked upon as incomplete if philosophy is not given a place of importance in the last one or two years. The study of logic, psychology, and the history of philosophy is recognized as necessary for the student who is to enter the divinity school. Yet the best equipped college can offer merely the elements of philosophic study; it can only lay foundations upon which others may build. Four years of college, however, can and do fit a man for the mastery of difficult thought-problems and for a vigorous intellectual life. Moreover, the three or four years following graduation, without distractions, and with the added inspiration arising from a definite motive, offer an exceptional opportunity for intellectual activity; and no one has greater reasons for serious application than he

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who is to become a leader in the Christian movement of modern times. None but earnest, able, and industrious students should be admitted to the theological seminary. To these the best possible intellectual life should be tendered, and on precisely the same basis as in the case of their fellow students who enter the law and medical schools.

In the theological seminaries of America, as I have intimated, the dominating tendency has been on the whole dogmatic rather than philosophic. The study of philosophy as such has been largely incidental; whereas no one can master theology without a thorough and detailed knowledge of those processes of thought which have commanded the highest forms of intellectual activity. Theological schools require great teachers of philosophy, and theological students need opportunities such as are offered in the best universities here and in the Old World—opportunities that will stimulate original investigation and independent research. The elective courses of philosophy now offered at some divinity schools do not satisfy the objection which is here raised. They are for the most part merely added to the original course of study and have not really modified the educational methods of the theological seminary. One cannot come from the graduate work of a great university to an American school of divinity without at once feeling the meagreness of the intellectual life and the poverty of the intellectual opportunity. The study of philosophy has for its purpose the verification of Aristotle's assertion, that all philosophy leads to theology, or Sir William Hamilton's, that the heart of the philosophic problem is found in theology. It is for the sake of a more profound and more candid investigation of the theological problem, and the destruction of false theological processes, that philosophy should be made a leading subject at the divinity schools, and that the philosophic habit of mind should be there developed.

2. The study of the Bible is the second point at which some modification needs to be secured in the theological seminary. Exegetical criticism has been the object sought rather than a broad acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments as literature. The student ought to come to the seminary from his years of study of Greek able to read the New Testament in the original at sight: either he or his college is seriously at fault if this is not the case. This is also largely true of Hebrew. These are simply matters of thorough and effective scholarship. Moreover, the divinity schools will replete their ranks with able and vigorous men if such ideals are maintained. It is

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better to wait with empty lecture halls for those that ultimately will fill them, if such standards are established, than to compromise ideals of scholarship.

It is not less acquaintance with the Bible that is advocated, but larger and broader knowledge of it as a whole. The Bible needs to be read and estimated as a book of preëminent literary power, in order that the student may the more fully find its moral and spiritual power. The Bible as literature, as the literature of faith, needs to be set before the world to make people read and understand it. To do this is the function of the clergyman. Is he being fitted for this work in the theological seminaries? Is it also out of place to ask here: What are these schools doing to give their pupils a knowledge of general literature, a knowledge necessary to the clergyman above all others for the position which he is to occupy? There is moral power in clear, effective use of the mother tongue. In short, the clergyman loses in power as an ethical and religious leader in proportion as he fails to lead in all that makes for the truest and deepest culture.

Doubtless much has been accomplished by the teachers of homiletics; but it may still be asked whether their work has had that breadth of scholarship, that thoroughness, which tends to make their students readers of great books, and to give them such an acquaintance with the world of letters as will enrich their whole intellectual and spiritual life. The theological library ought to contain the best literature of the world; and the theological student should pursue systematic courses of study in the broader realm of letters. Three years of persistent, thorough training in this field is certainly not too much in addition to the best that the undergraduate course can offer.

3. Perhaps the most serious defect in the theological seminary, strange as it may seem, is the subordinate place given to ethics. Some few years ago one of the most distinguished of philosophical thinkers delivered a course of lectures at a leading university upon the ethics of Hegel. The course attracted deep and wide interest. Students on all sides said: "Those lectures did more to set me right than anything to which I ever listened." The same course was given, shortly after, at one of the larger theological seminaries, and opened to all as a rare opportunity; but the greatest number at any one lecture was seven, and usually only three were in attendance. The lecturer asked, with some surprise and pain, for the reason; and the honest and significant reply was: "We are not here to study ethics but theology."

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It is asserted that most theological students are not interested in purely ethical problems, and that their ethical power, which on the whole is considerable, is developed for the most part incidentally to their theological education. It is only fair to say, however, that this subject is now found in some curriculums, though it is certainly given no prominence in any. All admit that it is exceedingly difficult to maintain a scientific course of ethics in most divinity schools. Possibly this will help to explain why at times there is in the Church great inertia when serious moral movements demand support, and also why it is that such movements often find their best leaders outside the Church.

Undoubtedly the clergyman, as he comes from the theological seminary, has much of the ethical spirit; but this is due to the fact that the Bible and theology possess a strong moral influence. Moreover, the world demands of him that he be ethical in life. Nevertheless, the theological school, so far as thorough, systematic, and scholarly study of ethical principles and problems is concerned, offers a meagre opportunity; and therefore it is that the clergyman, if he is to have it at all, must seek his opportunity for advanced study in ethics at the graduate school of a great university. The results of this lack in the divinity schools are seen in the clergymen as well as in the churches; and the most pitiful thing is, that the theological student is hardly aware of the serious loss which he sustains, because his professional school has done so little to make him a trained ethical thinker.

It certainly is not out of place to ask whether the study of history, if it were undertaken on a more comprehensive basis than merely the investigation of a comparatively small portion of the history of the Church, would not have great ethical value as well as be a constant stimulus to the best thinking. Few subjects bring more to the student than history. The law school has recognized this fact by offering infinitely more than lectures merely upon the history of jurisprudence. Would it not be as well to create a "Chair of History," leaving out the word "Ecclesiastical"? In fact, cannot ecclesiastical history be treated as part of the larger historical movement, which must be understood to comprehend the relative place of the Church?

4. *Sociology.* In a few theological seminaries a beginning has been made in the teaching of sociology, which promises much if this department of instruction can be given the dignity and the opportunity it so richly deserves. Any door which gives an entrance into the

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real problems of the world should be sought with eagerness. The serious complaint is made against ministers, however, that, with a few notable exceptions, they have too little sympathy with those movements which lie just outside the social and moral boundaries of the Church. The modern city, with the "uptown churches" and the "downtown slums," has still its widening chasm with all its bitterness and its social and political dangers; but the life and work of the theological seminary, for the most part, have comparatively little to do with this darksome problem. Earnest people cannot help asking whether the zeal and energy which have been expended in dogmatic controversies would not have done much toward the solution of the vast problem which has grown out of the condition of the Lord's sick, poor, and prisoners.

These are days when thorough scientific investigation is being given to the sociological problem; a whole literature bearing upon this problem has sprung into existence within our memory; men and women on all sides are devoting their lives to an attempt to seek a practical solution of this social question; national and international conferences are being held to which leading thinkers and investigators are giving their best time and thought. But how many libraries in theological seminaries even possess this literature? How many have opened up this field to students through great teachers with modern inductive methods of study and practical research? And yet we wonder why it is that people complain that these moral and sociological movements are, in such large measure, apart from the activity of so many churches, and that even the work which is done in them is often unwise as well as unscientific.

To bring about changes of the nature of those suggested in this article will doubtless require the mastery of serious difficulties. But has not the emergency arisen when useless educational traditions as well as defective educational methods may be unhesitatingly laid aside, in order that the work of the hour may be accomplished? All that is sacred in the past must be conserved; but the world is pressing on into the work of a great future, which will demand the highest intellectual and spiritual development, as well as a courage that is born of faith. Is it altogether out of place to ask if, for the sake of greater effectiveness, the time has not come when an effort should be made to consolidate the theological seminaries of New England? It is not absorption into a great university that is needed, but consolidation for the sake of creating, in this section of the country, one strong divinity school

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which shall command great teachers, earnest students, and large financial support.

If the four theological seminaries of New England could be brought together into one centre, with their equipment and endowments so far as possible conserved, new courses might be established and the old ones broadened; and there could be established a much larger and more effective library than can possibly exist at any one of the present schools. Such a plan would commend itself not only to the leaders of the educational movement, but also to the practical business man, who has the future of the Church profoundly at heart.

In such an institution as is suggested high standards, such as are found at the very best schools of law and medicine, could be set and maintained; weak men would be kept out; strong men would be attracted; scholarships and fellowships would be established on the same basis as those in the best universities—granted because of character and intellectual ability; and the eleemosynary element would be banished. To a school of this kind, with its great teachers, its fellows, its tutors, would be drawn not only men desirous of entering the ministry, but also others who would seek such an education as could be secured there because of its great spiritual stimulation. Such a school would require large endowments; but these could be obtained, for men are anxious for the future of the Church and are ready to render substantial aid to a movement of this nature.

WILLIAM F. SLOCUM.

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SOME DEFECTS OF THE KINDERGARTEN IN AMERICA.

In setting down, at the request of the editor of The Forum, my impressions of the kindergarten, I desire to state at the outset that I have read about every printed word of Froebel's, have visited many scores of kindergartens at home and abroad, gave lately a university year of Saturday lectures upon it, issued a *questionnaire* concerning points doubtful to my mind which was copiously answered by the best kindergartners, have always had one or more kindergarten conferences at the Clark University Summer School, and have gathered and perused quite a literature upon the subject. This it is necessary to premise, because the stock answer of kindergartners, like that of the theosophists and faith curists, is that the critics do not understand the system; and if, in what follows, my limitations are painfully apparent, I wish to be credited with an honest desire and a real effort to overcome them. Although I see people, whom my egotism leads me to think not very much more gifted than I, walking with such sure step where I tremble, doubt, and fear, and saying, as apologists for existing conditions, such transcendentally wise and beautiful things that I cannot understand, I, nevertheless, cannot forbear feeling considerable trepidation, lest I am about to expose some grave mental deficiency.

Again let me premise that I believe heart and soul in the kindergarten as I understand it, and insist that I am a true disciple of Froebel, that my orthodoxy is the real doxy which, if Froebel could now come to Chicago or Boston, he would approve. His was one of the deepest, truest, and most intuitive of minds. His heart was one of the most devoted to be found in the whole history of education. It might almost be a watchword of most educational reforms now needed to carry the Froebelian spirit and methods, as its author intended to do, up through all the grades of school work, including even the university. We need to organize a systematic work of rescuing Froebel from the now dominant wing of his American disciples.

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Again, so far as my acquaintance and personal impressions go, kindergartners are perhaps, on the whole, if not the most womanly and motherly representatives of their sex to be found in modern society, at least second to no other class in this respect. In many cases they come from the best families and are drawn to the work by the truest and highest instincts. There is more love of children and more sympathy with them in the kindergarten, as it exists to-day, than in any other grade of education; and its representatives are eminently lovable and marriageable. No better training for wifehood and domestic life has ever been devised. As a rule, those young women who seem by nature distinctly set apart for celibate life, and for the high services of philanthropy now open to women, in private and public spheres, are not found here. Paternal instincts are the motive power at this stage, as they should be at all stages, of education. I believe, too, that American kindergartners really want the truth, that they are naturally rather more open-minded than most women teachers of higher grades, and that the presupposition of common sense as a basis of appeal is on the whole a pretty safe one here.

What, now, are some of the great ideas which the educational world owes in whole or in part to Froebel? I think they are as follows:

1. He was the first, before even embryology had pointed out the fact, to teach that the child repeats the history of the race, recapitulating its stages. This is now one of the key-notes of genetic psychology, which ought to make it a welcome friend, instead of a suspected visitor, in the kindergarten meetings and journals.

2. Feeling and instinct are the germs of the intellect and the will. Schleiermacher, and more recently Horwicz, laid great stress upon this primacy of the heart; and just now empirical psychology is re-affirming the doctrine that the higher mental powers are evolved out of the larger life of feeling.

3. Froebel taught self-activity and spontaneity, and that play was one of the great revealers of the direction of inherent interest and capacity. He first saw that if the play instincts are turned on as the great motive power in school, far more can be accomplished, and that easier and with less strain. Man must create; children are by nature abounding in the power of divine origination.

4. Froebel was a passionate monist, a representative of the higher pantheism, God-intoxicated almost like Cleanthes and Spinoza.

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He was in the true apostolic succession of those great souls whose lives were expanded and directed by a sense that in God we live, move, and have our being. He was the first to apply to education these pantheistic conceptions, which are the culmination of all natural religion, which, however, it need hardly be said are neither necessary for, nor common in, kindergarten work. Whatever we may think of his creed, this inevitably brought with it new standpoints and new methods.

5. He believed in the original soundness and wholeness of human nature, rather than in any Calvinistic ideas of its depravity, and hence abhorred all interfering, or radically reconstructing, methods of education, but thought the latter should be always developmental.

6. Almost as a corollary of the first statement he exhorted that every child should be at each stage of his life all that that stage called for. He must, as we should put it, use the rudimentary organs of his mind—be a complete animal, if there is a complete animal stage of childhood—as the *conditio sine qua non* of the highest maturity on the human plane. The future should not dominate; and adult views and standards should not be prematurely enforced. Youth should not scorn boyhood, nor boyhood infancy. The atmosphere should be pervaded with harmony and love.

7. We must all live for and with the children. Indeed, what else is there in all this world worth living, working, dying for? We adults pass on after we have transmitted the sacred torch of life; and the only test of state, home, church, school, or civilization is whether or not it brings childhood and youth to the fullest possible maturity.

8. He believed in trusting intuition, and not in the elaborate methodology which whips up the beer of knowledge into a froth, which always analyzes processes, and lets no operation pass without demanding an explanation. The child, he said, is a seed in the ground, which does not see the sun or feel the rain directly, but is not unresponsive to every change of temperature, moisture, or light. "The unconsciousness of a child is rest in God." This saying alone shows that Froebel's standpoint was not inferior to that of Wordsworth in his famous ode, and that he dimly foresaw all the work that has been done lately on that part of the soul which lies below the threshold of consciousness, but from its unfathomable depths rules all our life.

9. Lastly, I shall mention Froebel's belief in health. The child is a plant, a vegetable, and must live out of doors, or in as nearly out-of-door conditions as possible. He realized that health was the basis and test of all, and was one of the morning stars of the new hygiene.

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It has been often asked where Froebel got his philosophical conceptions. We know of his relations to Schelling, Fichte, and, especially, Krause; and this explains much, but not all or even the best. He was essentially a seer, a mystic, a deep-minded, large-eyed soul-gazer wrestling with great conceptions, half revealed and half concealed by his mode of expression. It is painful to read the Jacob-like wrestlings of this soul with the angel for names and words; and how often, after mentally gasping and gagging and iterating, perhaps tediously—until we almost wish he had taken refuge like other mystics in snatches of some unknown tongue, or, like Jahn, had had recourse to words originally invented—he exclaims that it is all too deep, and feels that the simplest thing or act cannot be told.

In the German word *saugen* (to suck) he sees *s'augen* (to eye one's self or come to self-knowledge); in *sinne* (or sense) he sees *s'inne*, with an intimation of reflecting upon one's self. From this aphasic limitation in his power of expression come the many involutions, the tiresome tautologies, the singular absence of humor that might be copiously illustrated, the sense that everything is iridescent with all kinds of symbolic meanings, the obscurities and ambiguities which have baffled or divided his followers, the rhapsodizing "motive," and his disposition, like the pseudo-Dionysius, Boehme, Eckhardt, and other deep, but inarticulate souls, to see everything in anything. He needs editing, with much expurgation of repetitions and judicious explanation of obscurities.

Moreover, he did not entirely escape the limitations of his race, which at that time was eminently unpractical. His early architectural education, his study and curatorship of crystals, and his meagre mathematical studies, all tended more or less to give definiteness to his method of mental action; but his training was essentially in inanimate nature. Biology was then quite undeveloped. He was largely color-blind; and he did not live to apply his methods to the higher stages of education. Had his training been in some of the fields of study which deal with life, and had he had the advantages of the many lines of work which nowadays would seem to give a better foundation to all his thought, it is difficult to conjecture what the results would have been; but without doubt they would have been very different and better.

Nearly all his disciples have been women, and most of them not mothers, but of an age when a certain natural void and longing, which only family life can fill, makes itself felt. I believe there is

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nowhere a philosophy—nothing even that can be made out of Delsartism, mind-cure systems, Browning, or Nietzsche—so fundamentally wholesome and educating for young women as Froebelism. At this age they must idealize, and vicariously, or, by the law of kinetic equivalents, must make, if they do not find, objects for love, enthusiasm, and devotion. Just as childless monks evoked all the beauty and glory of Maryolatry, so I am inclined to think we see the faint beginnings of a Froebelolatry slowly evolving in the heart of this noblest type of American maidenhood. And just as the mental activities favored by monastic life developed scholasticism, so we have in the exiguous symbolism of the fully panoplied Froebel exegete what Balzac would call a human document no less precious for studying the mental tendencies of celibate life among cultured women. Thus, while Froebel enlarged and glorified womanhood, women have paid the debt by enlarging and glorifying him.

It is singular that Froebel has never had a thoroughly scholarly and critical estimate. He has had eulogists and explanations galore; his philosophy has been spun out in many directions by ardent apologists, disciples, and worshippers; but the overwhelming majority, not only of kindergartners, but of their leaders, lack university, or even college, training; and the two or three ablest and best trained of his apostles are holophrastic idealists of his own camp, not trained in modern psychology, and suspicious of it, but disciples of the overcome standpoint of Hegel and his ilk.

Hence it comes that in this country the kindergartners are almost an educational sect by themselves. They talk of kindergarten principles rather than of educational principles; their courses of study deal very little with the general history of education; the two or three most learned of them have not extended their interests much beyond Schelling, Fichte, and Kant. Of evolution, a type of thought in which Froebel would have revelled with all his soul, they know little and care less.

The extremely able lady who dominates, with her thought and powerful personality, the entire intellectual field of the American kindergarten, like a pope intimidates every dissenter, and her nearer disciples seek to suppress, by condemnation and even social ostracism, all those that seek to breathe a freer and larger air; while so overperfect is the organization of kindergartners that this repression is generally all too effective.

Herbart has lately been felt in this country as a very valuable

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intellectual stimulus, who has greatly broadened and deepened the best American educational thought; but in a recent magazine article kindergartners were warned by this leader to beware of him and all his ways and works, because, forsooth, his theories of the nature of the ego were not satisfactory to her.

Perhaps the finest kindergarten installation in the world to-day is the magnificent newly built and endowed Pestalozzi-Froebel House, in the outskirts of Berlin, with its ample grounds, individual flower-beds, fish-ponds, wild wood for birds, and its well-equipped building for a cooking school. For kindergartners going abroad to study, it is altogether the best place. Last summer I studied it with rare pleasure and edification. But we have been so effectively warned against it because the name of Pestalozzi has been added to that of Froebel, that I found only one American woman there—while in inferior establishments in Germany there were many. At this place the gifts and occupations have been reduced to a minimum, and are gradually being abandoned for better things. Nursing and cooking are included in the training course, and so is the general history of education. At noon the younger children are put to sleep on floor mattresses in the gymnasium; and also many other admirable new departures—most necessary, but which, for the most part, are disallowed by the American orthodoxy—have been made.

Again, Froebel was the morning star of the child-study movement, and would have rejoiced to see its day. The school referred to is in the legitimate line of Froebelian descent, at least quite as much as the regnant school, which looks upon it with so much suspicion. Its ideal is to construct a psychology that shall be really genetic, to introduce evolution into the sphere of mind, and to make everything plastic to the nature and needs of the child. It has received, however, but the faintest recognition from the body of kindergarten teachers, is generally suspected, and its methods and results are almost unknown in American training schools.

The most decadent intellectual new departure of the American Froebelists, however, is the emphasis now laid upon the mother plays as the acme of kindergarten wisdom. These are represented by very crude poems, indifferent music, and pictures—the like of which were never seen in any art exhibit—illustrating certain incidents of child life believed to be of fundamental and typical significance. I have read these in German and in English, have strummed the music,

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and have given a brief course of lectures from the sympathetic standpoint, trying to put all the new wine of meaning I could think of into them. But I am driven to the conclusion that, if they are not positively unwholesome and harmful for the child, and productive of anti-scientific and unphilosophical intellectual habits in the teacher, they should nevertheless be superseded by the far better things now available. I grant freely that they now have a certain advantage of position, because so much meaning has accumulated about them; but the positions were badly chosen, the mental unities are artifacts, and everything has to be radically reconstructed and redistributed as the mind unfolds.

The mother plays are related to the more standard parts of Froebel's doctrine somewhat as Comte's later speculations about society—which John Stuart Mill thought were really insane—are related to the sounder, positive philosophy of his earlier years; so that the kindergartners who follow this direction are as far from the legitimate succession as are the Comteists of the Stephen Pearl Andrews type from Lass and Comte's true French line. The mother play epigoni illustrate in peto the same tendency we see in the peripatetics after Aristotle, or the later academicians in the decadence of Platonism before it issued in the vagaries of Proclus and Plotinus. It would be easy to devote this article to the apotheosis of symbolism here presented, and to show how the symbolic mode of thought has been transcended, and how the habit of seeing "everything as a sign to be interpreted" is a vicious one.

Another cardinal error of the kindergarten is the intensity of its devotion to the gifts and occupations. In devising these, Froebel showed great sagacity; but the scheme as it left his own hands was a very inadequate embodiment of his educational ideas, even for his time. He thought it a perfect grammar of play and an alphabet of industries; and in this opinion he was utterly mistaken. Play and industry were then relatively undeveloped; and while his devices were beneficent for the peasant children in the country, they lead in the interests of the modern city child, a very pallid, unreal life. For the symbolic method that finds everything in everything any random selections could readily be made the centre of an imposing set of explanations.

The great faults of the gifts and occupations, however, are not only that there are hundreds of other things that would do as well; but I am convinced that two or three score could easily be found

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that possess great natural advantages over most, if not all, of these. Moreover, they deal with inanimate objects and too mathematical conceptions, while this is the age when the child's interest in animals culminates, and when his character is pregnant with moral suggestions as well as with scientific interests. They are also over-emphasized; and idolatry of the ball, cube, slats, pricking, pea-work, and the rest makes the kindergartner not only indifferent to new departures in the rapid development of recent times, but so suspicious of novelties that new gifts or occupations have to overcome a great presumption against them. The inner connection theory and the scheme of analyzing to a point and then developing from it are fantastic and superficial; and it is persistently forgotten that the meanings seen or claimed exist solely for the teacher and not at all for the child.

Much of the work involves a great waste of teaching, with great effort to inculcate early what will later come naturally and better of itself. The drawing of the kindergarten children thus tends to be wooden; and its introduction into the curriculum is to invert the order of nature, which prompts the child to draw complex scenes with animals and men in motion first, with never a straight line, circle, or mathematical angle until much later. The sins of this introduction of regular mathematical forms against both the artistic sense and power of execution, which can be laid to the door of the kindergarten, are many and great. Moreover, as administered, the occupations tend to overwork the children, to interest them and the parents in the products of the little school factory, and to lay too great stress on sedentary activities and the finer and late developed accessory muscles.

Strange to say, one of the most heinous offences of the modern kindergarten is against the plain precept of health, in this age of marvellous renaissance in school hygiene. If a competent and trained inspector were to go through the kindergartens of our large cities and report upon what provisions were made against contagious diseases; upon how many children used the same drinking-cup, soap, towel; upon the condition and mode of use of toilet-rooms; on the percentage of window to floor space; on the provisions for regulating temperature; upon ventilation and drafts; on the hygiene of the nose, ears, teeth, and, above all, of the nerves; upon the matter and manner of lunches; as to what influence the kindergarten sought to exert upon the home diet of children; upon signs of fatigue and the automatisms seen and often developed; on the effect of the preparation for Christmas and New Year's upon sleep and health generally;

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upon the amount of room space per child, etc., the results would, I believe, be shown to be sadder in the kindergarten than in any other grade of educational work to-day. The lack of official inspection, the convenience and ease of the teacher, the limited means with which many kindergartens are conducted, and, we must add, the too relatively absorbing devotion to speculative theory are responsible for this neglect.

In direst contradiction to all this, Froebel believed the child should live out of doors; would give each child a flower-bed that he might have access to mother earth; emphasized the need of abundant and healthful activity, and understood the hygienic necessities of leisure. We forget that the very definition of school means leisure; that the child must have it in great abundance; and that he must be protected and shielded from the activities of the great world; so that nature and heredity—an ounce of which is worth tons of education—can get in its work. Quiet, rest, sleep, lethargy, and, above all, day dreaming, are essential; and he must have strong cause who would interfere with nature's operations.

The nursery element, now often so abhorred, must be greatly emphasized in our kindergartens. Some factors of the now admirable education of nurses should be introduced by a competent medical instructor. Next to out of doors, the kindergarten, at least in winter, might be on the top floor under a roof wide open to light, where some of the health provisions of hospitals are seen. Lectures on foods and nutrition, on emergencies, and on other practical matters, instead of on the scholastic metaphysics now in vogue, are most urgently and imperatively demanded for the welfare of the rising generation. I would like to see organized a work of rescue to deliver the modern kindergarten from the metaphysicians, and to give it over to the philosophical hygienists, who should make it everywhere and first of all a palace of health.

The needed reforms in the kindergarten must, of course, come with deliberation enough to be sure. A committee of ten or more might help, provided they were not kindergartners, but were wise and competent; although a badly appointed committee would do harm by confirming old practices. Let me confess frankly that I do not, myself, know at present just what should be done or just how this grade of education should be best organized. One of my dearest wishes is to have adequate means placed at my disposal to experiment a few years, or until I could present a scheme of detailed work. That

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this could now be done from data that are accessible is certain. Great improvements are entirely practicable.

A few things I shall venture to indicate. The body must be strengthened. The activities should involve more body movements, and the strain upon the hand and eye should be reduced. The very high educational value of dancing should be exploited; it cadences the entire soul as almost nothing else. Building should be done with much larger blocks. Catching, throwing, and lifting plays and games should be selected from Mr. Johnson's,[1] or some other convenient, repertory. Imitation or "do as I do" activities should have a larger place. Bean-bags, and, if there were room, perhaps the hoop, the jumping-rope, and the kite might have some place.

Certainly the doll, with all its immense educational power, should be carefully introduced. Much might be said in favor of the color-top, peg-board, soap-bubbles, and such old plays as jack-straws and knuckle-bones. All the Proceedings of the Toy Congress, and the contents of the toy-shop, should always be studied and used. Walking sideways and backways, and sorting out very heterogeneous blocks and cards, and laying like to like, might be tried; while popcorn, play with chalk, shells, spools, pictures—perhaps cut and pasted—milkweed-pods, potato-work, possibly the whip, and all possible contact with animate life should be carefully experimented with—always remembering that the child's interest in animals culminates before that in flowers or trees, and that the latter reaches its apex before interest in inanimate things. When we reflect for a moment on the richness of the possible symbolism that might be developed out of objects like the above, we realize that the intellectual pabulum, even according to the current Froebel philosophy, would be condensed and enriched rather than otherwise. Each of these things and hundreds of others could train the mind just as well. The curriculum could be just as progressive, and the motor elements of education just as emphatic.

The kindergarten should do more for language, not only for the voice in training to speak freely and well, but for the vocabulary. The vernacular never sinks so deep or becomes so vigorous and idiomatic as when most closely linked to activity; but many kindergartens turn out children very imperfectly developed in this respect. One important function in selecting each item of the curriculum should

[1] JOHNSON, G. E.: "Education by Plays and Games." Ped. Sem., Oct., 1894, Vol. 3, pp. 97–133.

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be its language value; for this is the nascent period when, if ever, the foundations are laid for pure idiomatic English. It is important that the teacher's voice be attractive, well modulated, her words well chosen, her English correct, her linguistic resources ample and fertile; but still more important is it that the child should be here taught expression. The over-voluble may occasionally need repression; but most children do not talk enough in the kindergarten. Again, wherever practicable, living, foreign languages should be taught in the upper grades of kindergartens by a native teacher. At five and six the ear and tongue begin their nascent period for other languages, and not to improve it is to make the work harder later on.

Everything that is done or seen should be reflected in language. It should not, however, be the stupid concert work common in the kindergarten, but free, personal conversation with each child. To see a picture while talking about it greatly aids the power of expression, not only in our own, but in a foreign language; so that it should be a rule to confine such conversation as closely as possible, word for word, at least to the picture, if not to the object.

Standard stories with myths should be told; and perhaps this ought to be the central thing, or, at least, next to activity. Not only Grimm and Æsop, but some of the Old Testament tales, tales from Homer, etc., can be told, in a most effective way, by a sympathetic teacher, at the kindergarten age. Story-telling ought to be a profession; and if I could examine kindergarten teachers I should regard the test in this respect as second to none in importance. The same story can be repeated. This is the primeval way of education; thus all culture was transmitted before books. Animal tales, perhaps acted out, stories of savage life, of fancy, something of the fairies, with games like hide and seek—and a vast amount of such work in great variety—should be included.

Music should be looked upon as indispensable and made very prominent. Most of the new music I believe to be cheap and unworthy of the child. The old ballads and songs of nature, God, home, and country educate the sentiments in ways we have never known. There is much to be said in favor of the violin instead of the piano. The teacher should sing, and a great deal of music should be heard. Froebel's standard can here be greatly transcended. Occasional whistling would, of course, be admirable. Songs with action are important here —bad as they are later—for the development of the voice. There is something in the cake walk—which seems to me the very apotheosis

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of human love antics—that could be utilized for older children, who might be encouraged to act a part and begin to indulge that great instinct of assuming an alien personality. Children sometimes appreciate poetry with alliteration and even slang in it, which has its partial justification; and the sequence and continuity, identity and contrast, which are so much insisted on, are utterly alien as principles to the child mind at this animistic age.

Finally, the intellectual method of kindergarten thought needs readjustment. It must be made accessible to the scientific movement of the age, which has hardly touched it. It must study the marvellous School of Infancy, which Comenius, long before Froebel, and no less wisely, devised, and profit by it. It should cultivate children, not in pots, but in gardens. It must study the nature of the child, and abate its cult of an attenuated symbolism. Every child should have opened and kept for it, during its entire kindergarten course, a life-and-health book—such as I have elsewhere described, for the recording of the results of some physical examinations. As Ruskin has well pointed out, symmetry has its dangers, which should be recognized.

There is needed for the kindergarten a definite curriculum, with loyalty to the genetic conception, and in friendly rapport with the new psychology. There should be less attention to results, and a closer interest in, and sympathy with, educational work and organization for other grades. More college women are needed. There is needed also more sentiment and less sentimentality—a truer conception of the child, not as trailing clouds of glory and faintly understanding everything, but as a lovely little animal, full of helplessness and incapacity, but also of boundless potentialities. Every educator, even the university professor, will profit by a careful study of the kindergarten. The enthusiasm and love of children on which it is based are the very greatest needs in the higher grades. Froebel should lead the present marvellous movement of advance, and not be dragged at its chariot wheels.

I would invoke our wisest mothers, who most glorify the home by the light of their life and example, to let it shine into this institution, which is nearer to the home than any other. I would invite girl graduates, seeking a vocation where they can bring to bear all the best that an academic career has taught them, to consider whether the need of more educated leaders here does not constitute a call to them. I would like to call the attention of literary women,

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and of leaders in all the reforms that tend to the development of a sphere for women as complete and fitted to her activities as man-made institutions are to his, to shed the light of their sympathies and intuitions upon the kindergarten, which has a development in this country far beyond that of any other; and I would urge my professorial colleagues in my own department, seeking a field where philosophy can be applied, to consider this.

Froebel himself left his work unfinished; and what he has done needs a higher interpretation, that his spirit be not strangled by his letter. The fight for recognition of the kindergarten is now being won all along the line, but the movement is too much dominated by its scribes and sophists, so that a wide and vigorous coöperative effort is needed, lest the unfinished window of Aladdin's tower remain unfinished.

G. STANLEY HALL.

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COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES OF CHINA—A REPLY.

In the November number of The Forum appeared an article by Mr. John P. Young, managing editor of the San Francisco "Chronicle," entitled, "Will Chinese Development Benefit the Western World?" The question is one of such vital importance to the commerce and industry of the United States, and such infinite harm may be done by the dissemination of erroneous views in regard to it, that I may be permitted to reply to several points in regard to which I believe Mr. Young to be totally wrong. I speak from such commercial experience of the habits and wants of the Chinese as may be derived from a thirty years' residence as a merchant in Shang-hai, and from frequent and extended journeys, during that period, throughout the most populous sections of the Empire. From the general tone of the article, I should infer that Mr. Young's opportunities of judging the character, capacity, and wants of the Chinamen have been mainly, if not solely, derived from his propinquity to the Chinese quarter of San Francisco.

In reasoning from observation of a few hundreds of thousands of Chinamen in the United States, with regard to the three or four hundred millions of Chinamen at home, Mr. Young stands by no means alone. Nor is he alone in the assumption that the members of the Chinese colony in San Francisco, because they have made their homes in a foreign country, "may be set down as among the most enterprising of their race." The point is a minor one; but, by way of clearing up some popular misconceptions, it should be explained that practically the whole Chinese migration to this country has been composed of the friends, neighbors, and relatives of the Canton coolies who were hired to work on the construction of the Pacific railways. These people all belong to one or two districts in the Province of Kwang-tung, and they came on the strength of reports brought home or sent home by the poor Canton "navvies" who helped to lay the steel highway across the Rocky Mountains.

As the Chinese Minister said, not long ago, at the International Commercial Congress, addressing men who had lived in China and knew the Chinese: "You never find in this country any Chinese from

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the northern part of China. You never find here any Chinese from the central part of China. You have heard to-day about Shang-hai; but you never heard of a Chinaman from Shang-hai coming here. I appeal to all gentlemen who are acquainted with China, whether they have ever found a Shang-hai Chinaman in America, except, of course, as a member of my Legation. But not as traders, nor as workmen, do you ever find them here." While perfectly willing, therefore, to accept even the limited range of wants of the poor laborers of Canton as offering enormous potentialities for the expansion of American trade, I must protest against their being made the measure of the ability of 350,000,000 of Chinamen to consume foreign products. I should regard it quite as reasonable to gauge the consuming capacity of the great American people by the standard supplied by a group of families of Georgia "crackers."

But Mr. Young keeps his intellectual eye obstinately fixed on the Chinese colony of San Francisco, and triumphantly asks: "If after fifty years of residence in California, the Chinese and their descendants in that State adhere to their conventional dress and habits as closely as though such a course were dictated by religion, why should we suppose that the four hundred millions of their countrymen at home would act differently?" Why, indeed? There is really no necessity for converting to Western habits these "victims of a blind conservatism," to make them "excellent customers for Western wares."

The Chinaman must be assumed to be the best judge of what suits him in the matter of food, raiment, and household furniture. He has certainly a sufficiently long experience to draw from. What merchants in China aim to do is to supply what the people need, not what Westerners think they ought to have. The ingrained conservatism of the Chinaman about his clothes, which troubles Mr. Young, is really a very good thing for the cotton industry of the United States. The North Chinaman in cold weather will wear as many as five suits of cotton clothing, one on top of another; showing what Mr. Young would call a deplorable inability to avail himself of our more civilized Western method of keeping warm. But, waiving what might be said in favor of the better graduated Chinese way of adapting covering to climate, is there any better foundation for the future prosperity of our great cotton textile industry than this conservatism? If every inhabitant of China used but a yard of our cotton cloth every year, we should be sending to China about twice as much of the cloth as we are doing to-day, and we are to-day sending them five times as much as we did

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five years ago. As the average requirement for a Chinaman's suit is five yards of cotton cloth, a slight enlargement of the purchasing power of the people would seem to be replete with enormous possibilities for at least one important branch of American trade and agriculture.

It is quite possible, however, to lay too much stress on Chinese conservatism. Mr. Young is wrong when he says that distinctions in rank in China are unmarked by any striking variation in dress. "The gradations in official life are simply indicated by a peculiarity in the buttons worn on the headgear. Fashion has no votaries among the Chinese of any class." Though the general type of the Chinese dress has undergone but little change for centuries, distinctions in class or rank in China are more clearly marked by costume than they are among ourselves. The frugal millionaire who buys his apparel at a cheap, ready-made clothing store is an absolutely unknown product of Chinese civilization. Even in San Francisco there is a considerable difference in price and quality between the clothes worn by the Chinese laundryman and the Chinese merchant; and in China the merchant does not copy the style of the mandarin, any more than the laborer copies the style of his employer. In China the love of finery for purposes of personal adornment is quite as highly developed as in the Western world, and the votaries of fashion in dress are quite as numerous and capricious.

Another point made by Mr. Young is important as indicating how inaccurate are his statements. He says that "such abnormalities as feet compression are badges of servitude. They are not prompted, as are the changes in the style of Western dress, by the emulative spirit. The fact that a woman has small feet in China fixes her status as the wife or concubine of a rich man. Their possession by one class does not tempt those who cannot maintain their women-folk in idleness to imitate them." As a matter of fact, all the women who work in the cotton mills of Shang-hai have small feet and, as a general statement, it may be averred that all women in North China have small feet.

If Mr. Young had brought a fairly open mind to the consideration of the question with which he undertakes to deal, he would hardly have been capable of invoking the testimony of Mr. F. E. Taylor, the Statistical Secretary of the Imperial Maritime Customs, to show that "there is little to support the theory that the inhabitants of China are eager to consume Western manufactures." What Mr. Taylor does say, in the introduction to his report for last year, is this:

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"Were any proof needed of the vitality of China's foreign trade, the figures for 1898 would supply it. Various parts of the country were disturbed by sporadic rebellions of sufficient gravity to check business; the Yellow River once more burst its banks and flooded enormous tracts; an ominous war cloud during the greater part of the year made importers cautious; the political situation was full of menace; and in September the news from Peking completely disorganized the trade of the Northern ports. In spite of these adverse circumstances, the value of the import trade surpassed all previous records, while the value of the export trade exceeded that of every past year, with the exception of 1897. The total volume of the trade was valued at 368,616,483 haikwan taels ($255,819,839), which is the highest on record. It is gratifying to know that on the whole the trade yielded satisfactory results to those interested."

Instead of finding, with Mr. Young, "an insignificant rate of consumption for foreign wares by the Chinese," Mr. Taylor, looking back twelve years, has this to say: "If we deduct from the figures for 1886 the value of the imports into the Formosan ports (no longer included in our returns), which amounted to 2,310,321 haikwan taels, we find that the import trade, then estimated at 85,169,002 haikwan taels, has increased over 145 per cent, or, in other words, is nearly two and a half times the value of what it was twelve years ago. It is evident that a country which can increase its purchases at such a rate is finding trade advantageous."

The substance of Mr. Young's argument is to be found in these assumptions: "It is the knowledge of Chinese adaptability that makes it questionable whether the introduction of Western habits into the Empire will not result in a setback to our civilization. . . As I have shown, it is probable that, in the earlier stages of the modern industrial development, the vast surplus energy will be utilized in manufacturing for outsiders rather than for Chinese. Until they radically change their habits of living, until they learn to consume wastefully, the Chinese must necessarily be poor customers for the wares which they may produce in profusion." Are the Chinese more "adaptable" than their neighbors in Japan, and have the earlier stages of the industrial development of the Japanese restricted their consumption of foreign merchandise?

The new era in Japan is less than thirty years old, and as recently as 1878 the foreign commerce of the country amounted to less than 60,000,000 yen. But in 1898 it was over 440,000,000 yen; the development of railroads, manufactures, and internal industries having been, in the interval, equally great. So far as the United States is concerned, Japan's imports from us have grown with even greater rapidity than her exports to us. In 1881 the imports from the United States

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amounted to only 1,781,108 yen, and in 1898 they had reached 40,001,097 yen in value. They have grown with much greater rapidity than the total importations of Japan : our share of that trade having increased from 5.72 per cent in 1881 to 14.57 per cent in 1898. As showing how fallacious any generalizations based upon mere theory are apt to be in dealing with the industrial possibilities of the Far East, this passage may be quoted from a recent report of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department of the United States :

"One curious and interesting feature of the importations of Japan is that which relates to clocks and watches. The opinion was expressed a few years ago that the cleverness of Japanese workmen in reproducing articles of delicate workmanship brought to their attention would soon reduce to a minimum the importation of clocks and watches and other articles of this character. Experience, however, has not justified this belief. The importation of clocks and watches into Japan, according to the official figures of the Japanese Government, has increased from 687,734 yen in 1892, to 3,419,727 yen in 1898."

The Japanese imports of cotton goods tell a similar story. Between 1892 and 1898, there was an enormous increase in the cotton-manufacturing capacity of Japan. In the former year her imports of raw cotton were 11,026,637 yen, while in the latter they were 45,410,457 yen. And yet, in nearly every form of manufactured cotton the Japanese made larger purchases abroad last year than they did six years before. According to the official reports the imports of cotton yarn were 7,131,947 yen in 1892 and 8,547,588 yen in 1898 ; of gray shirtings, 1,727,185 yen in 1892 and 4,382,509 yen in 1898 ; of cotton satins, 523,459 yen in 1892 and 1,645,328 yen in 1898 ; of white shirting, 330,558 yen in 1892 and 708,348 yen in 1898 ; of plush or velvet silk and cotton mixtures, nothing at all in 1892 and 599,495 yen in 1898 ; of Turkey red cambrics, 378,335 yen in 1892 and 433,894 yen in 1898 ; of cotton thread, 120,751 yen in 1892 and 358,770 yen in 1898 ; of cotton handkerchiefs, 198,930 yen in 1892 and 301,948 yen in 1898 ; of dyed shirtings, 126,112 yen in 1892 and 163,705 yen in 1898 ; of cotton duck, 37,261 yen in 1892 and 133,780 yen in 1898 ; and of twilled shirtings, 109,063 yen in 1892 and 114,905 in 1898. The solitary article of cotton manufacture in the import of which there is a falling off is cotton drills, which, beginning with a value of 127,491 yen in 1892, reached the figure of 550,724 yen in 1897, but dropped to 104,787 yen in 1898.

On Mr. Young's theory we should by this time have found Japan a formidable rival in the Chinese market. On the contrary, in regard to the fabric in which we might expect the effective competition of

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Japan, the report of the Chinese Maritime Customs has this to say: "Japanese sheetings show an immense decline, said to be due to inequality of texture, which handicaps them in competition with American goods." In cotton flannels, in which Japan also competes, the imports into China for the first nine months of this year were 268,785 pieces, chiefly from the United States, Japan having furnished 22,265 pieces.

In short, the experience of Japan as a manufacturing country tends to confirm the expectation which Mr. Taylor expresses so confidently in regard to China:

> "The development of industrial enterprises, the extension of railways, and the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country are likely to have important effects upon trade in the near future. . . Industry leads to wealth, and wealth brings demand for goods. And it is surprising that the prophecy should sometimes be heard that the Chinese will import less as they manufacture more. Experience teaches that the direct contrary is invariably the case."

That is a fact which Mr. Young perversely ignores. Therefore his whole argument is hopelessly vitiated. Every dollar of Western capital employed in China to build railroads, to develop mines, and, generally speaking, to equip the country with the appliances that have become commonplace in our civilization, but are still strange in China, will go to increase the purchasing power of the people. It is hardly necessary to adduce testimony as to the readiness of the Chinaman at home to spend money when he has it to spare. A dozen competent observers might be quoted in the vein of this statement by Mr. Archibald Colquhoun:

> "The Chinaman is clannish and conservative, but he is remarkably free from prejudice, religious or patriotic, especially in matters of tangible interest. Unlike the Japanese, he has a natural objection to alter his clothes, for they suit him better than any other. But he has no objection to purchasing the article which he judges to be the cheapest and best, wherever it may come from; and, moreover—an important point—he has a taste for luxuries if he can afford them.

As to the undeveloped resources of the Chinese Empire, I find myself in an entire accord with Mr. Young; the only difference being that he is afraid of their development, and I am not. If proof were wanted that there can be no solid addition to the wealth of the world without a corresponding increase in the world's trade, I should turn to the experience of India, where, with the development of railway communication, there has been an expansion of commerce which the last generation would have regarded as impossible. Within forty years,

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the imports and exports of British India have risen from 400,000,000 to 2,000,000,000 rupees. Not only are the internal economical conditions of China to-day very much the same as those of India when railroads were introduced, but, as Col. Mark Bell puts it, "the latent wealth of China makes her of greater value than many Indias."

There has been no more remarkable expansion of any department of our commerce than has taken place, of late years, in our exports of cotton cloth to China. In 1887, there were imported into Shang-hai, of English, Indian, and Dutch plain gray and white goods, 11,140,380 pieces; and of American sheetings, drills, and jeans, 1,874,274 pieces. By 1897, the American import had risen to 4,143,971 pieces; that of our competitors figuring for only 9,880,330 pieces, including the new contribution from Japan. In other words, there had been an increase in quantity of American imports of 121.11 per cent, and a decrease in those from England and India of 13.77 per cent, and from Holland of 7.12 per cent. The import of 1897 represented a total of some 165,000,000 yards of American cloth; but, for the first nine months of 1899 the same class of imports into Shang-hai showed a total of 182,875,000 yards; indicating a probable total for the year of not less than 250,000,000, or an increase of fully 50 per cent over the imports of 1897. And yet, it is perfectly true, as the members of the Lyons Commercial Commission concluded after a tour through the interior of the country, that "foreign trade has merely scratched the surface of the possibilities of China. The great majority of the Chinese are familiar neither with foreigners nor foreign products."

Commenting on the French efforts to develop trade with Indo-China, under the protection of a high tariff against the imports of all other nations, the American Consul at Lyons says:

"What is said in relation to Indo-China applies with equal force to China proper, with its 400,000,000 population. France has an inestimable advantage over us in Indo-China, on account of her tariff, which favors everything that is French, and closes the doors as hermetically as exclusive tariff laws can close them upon everything that is not of French manufacture. But our manufacturers have an even chance in the race with all the great nations of the world in China, and will continue to have it as long as the open-door policy prevails. The vast population of China is only just beginning to develop its purchasing capacity. It is the richest field for the investment of money in industrial pursuits and for the consumption of the products of industry that the world has ever known. The wealth of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, and other nations is moving in a continuous current toward the industrial fields of China. The part the United States will hold, in future, in this great market must depend entirely upon the efforts that are made within the next few years, while the field is open to all."

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This is the key-note of the policy to be pursued by the United States. Instead of looking with apprehension to China as a possible competitor in the markets of the world, it should be the earnest and constant effort of our government and people to stand for the maintenance of the equality of commercial opportunity which we possess under existing treaties with that Empire. We have our share to do in building the thousands of miles of railroads still wanting in China, of supplying her with all forms of machinery, with electric plants, and with all the appurtenances of productive industry and civilized progress for which China offers, and will continue to offer, for generations to come, the greatest market in the world. Never, surely, was the bogy of overproduction invoked with so little reason to frighten enterprise and to repress the growth of commerce, as with reference to an industrious race of 350,000,000, of a nation just awakening from the slumber of centuries.

JAMES S. FEARON.

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THE BOER WAR OF 1881.

THE English language would be the richer by a useful word if we had a diminutive of war. One hesitates to apply to the short struggle which ended in the independence of the South African Republic the word which covers the four-years' conflict between the Northern and the Southern States, or that long series of campaigns in the Peninsula which culminated in the shouldering of Napoleon's troops over the Pyrenees. There was no action in the Boer war which would have been classed by Napier as higher than a "combat"—a distinctive word fallen into disuse. But the features of this short campaign were in some respects unique. Then, for the first time since the Crimean War, English troops found themselves opposed to an enemy of European blood; and, though the British soldier has marched and fought with varying degrees of success in many lands, there is no other instance where he has failed to inflict on the enemy punishment at least proportionate to his own losses.

It was in 1877 that the Transvaal was annexed to the British Empire. I do not think it was pretended that the measure was desired by any great number of the inhabitants: "the consent of the governed" was not sought. The state was then some twenty-five years old. Its career of independence had not been a success. The treasury was insolvent. The frontiers were unprotected against the threatened incursion of the Zulus, whose military prestige was then at its highest. Within the borders, too, Sekukini held his mountain stronghold, from before which more than one Boer commander had recoiled discomfited. Annexation was resolved on by the English Government as the only means of restoring order in the helpless state, and as a measure of protection alike to Boer and native, and to the few straggling British subjects who had made their homes in that country. It was carried out quietly and without opposition. When Sir Theophilus Shepstone in April, 1877, raised the flag in Pretoria, the power of England was sufficiently represented by half a troop of Natal mounted police. The public in England took little interest in the affair. It is safe to say that the average citizen at home did not

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know that a country as large as Texas had been added to the Empire. The new possession was too remote to have much commercial importance. At that time its mineral wealth was not dreamed of.

The Boer is a descendant of the first colonists of the Cape. The main stream of his blood is derived from Holland, but has received an affluent from the French Huguenot. His occupation is purely pastoral; and his qualities, good and bad, are those incident to his calling, intensified by heredity through half a dozen generations. He is a lover of freedom, self-reliant, unchanging, ignorant, singularly unsocial. His manners are those of a people long strangers to the amenities of civilization; his standard of comfort is rude; he has no education, no art, no literature. When he can read, which is not often, his book is the Bible. His religion is a sombre Calvinism. It is part of his creed that he belongs to God's chosen people, and that the broad land is his inheritance.

The Transvaal is essentially a grazing country. At the time of which I write the Uitlander had not become a problem. The population was sparse, and the Boer was content to have it so. He is the least gregarious of human beings. As civilization edges up to him he inspans his oxen and treks. In 1877, there were many among the Boers who had already trekked more than once before the peaceful advance of the British flag. At each remove, naturally, the least restive spirits or the most prosperous burghers would hold their ground and submit to the new order. And so it was that the Transvaal Boer, the northern outpost of his race, was the most irreconcilable of his kind; possessing, in intensified form, those characteristics which make the race the least amenable of all white peoples to social conditions. One more attempt at a "Great Trek" was made; but it ended in disaster. Out beyond the Limpopo the limit of healthy Africa was reached; and the Boer turned at bay to face his pursuer, civilization.

But it was not until December, 1880, that his resistance became aggressive. His inactivity in the meantime was well considered; for, during those years, South Africa was full of English soldiers. The Zulu War was brought to an end in September, 1879; and before the end of the same year Sekukini was brought prisoner into Pretoria. Thus the Boer's two most formidable enemies were disposed of by English arms. It only remained for these to be withdrawn or sufficiently weakened, and his opportunity would come. The withdrawal was carried out with deliberation; for threats were in the

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air, and the Boers held periodical meetings and did much talking. But no one doubted that their disaffection would expend itself in talk; and Sir Garnet (now Lord) Wolseley was credited with the epigrammatic pronouncement that "the Transvaal could be held by a corporal's guard." No one dissented. If there was one opinion in which all South Africans were fully agreed at that time, it concerned the essential cowardice of the Boer. This was held to be proved up to the hilt by the history of all his military undertakings against his native enemies.

By December, 1880, the troops in the Transvaal had been reduced to four guns and two weak battalions of infantry—the 21st and the 94th. The last cavalry regiment had just embarked for India, and the 58th Foot was well down through Natal, on its way to the coast, when the news came that the Boers had proclaimed a republic. The immediate cause of the outbreak was an attempt to enforce a levy of taxes. The incident is unessential: it was merely the spark that fired the magazine.

Heidelberg was chosen as the seat of government, and the administration was placed in the hands of a triumvirate. Pretorius was the president, Paul Krüger vice-president, and Piet Joubert commandant general. Pretorius, a man of small parts, was little more than a figurehead; but his name was necessary to secure the following of the more conservative party. His prestige came from the name of his father, old Martinus Wessel Pretorius, president of the first republic, and a mighty man of war. Krüger and Joubert were the master minds. Krüger was gifted with some knowledge of affairs and with great practical shrewdness—a man well calculated to inspire confidence; Joubert was a naval man, and experienced in fighting.

The officer commanding the troops in South Africa was also governor of Natal. His name was Sir George Pomeroy Colley. He had the reputation of being one of the most intellectual men in the army, and he had filled with distinction some of its highest staff appointments. His "record," however, was not that of a "fighting soldier"; and he had never commanded a force in the field. His action in this crisis was prompt and able; but the means at his disposal were miserably inadequate. After despatching into the Transvaal, by rapid marches, three companies of the 58th, to reinforce the garrisons of Wakkerstroom and Standerton, he had at his command barely a thousand men. Even this total was only reached

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by drawing on the garrison of Cape Town and by landing some blue-jackets from the "Boadicea." Newcastle was chosen as an advance base. In those days there were no railroads beyond Pietermaritzburg; and the distances to be marched to reach that rendezvous varied, for the different detachments, from 150 to 300 miles. A squadron of cavalry was improvised from some drivers of the Army Service Corps, from a few time-expired and convalescent dragoons who had been left behind by their regiment, and from the infantrymen that could be found with sufficient knowledge of horsemanship.

A month of hard work was needed before this small force and its necessary transport could be got together at Newcastle in condition for an advance. But, in the meantime, the first disaster had befallen British arms in the Transvaal. This was, indeed, as early as the twentieth of December, four days only after the proclamation of the republic. The 94th Regiment (five companies), under Col. Anstruther, was on the march from Lydenburg to Pretoria. Trouble was not unexpected, but a state of war could not be said to exist. The troops were met near Bronker's Spruit by a strong force of Boers. It has been inaccurately said that the English column was uncovered by scouts. There were some mounted infantrymen in advance of the force; but they met an enemy consisting wholly of mounted infantry, able to close on the marching regiment almost as soon as the latter received notice of their presence. There was no time to deploy or to choose position. The Boer commander delivered a short message demanding the abandonment of the march to Pretoria. Col. Anstruther's reply was shorter still: "I obey orders: I go to Pretoria."

The spot had been very well chosen by the Boers, who by this time surrounded the little force, which, hampered by the nature of the ground and by the telling fire from the enemy, was unable even to offer a bold front of battle. The action was short and bloody. It was a *battue*, not a battle. Anstruther, pierced by several bullets, was mortally wounded; and, when he gave up the ineffectual fight, more than half his 300 officers and men had been hit. This lamentable affair called forth much denunciation of the Boers; but it cannot be said to have merited the name of treachery. From their own point of view, that of a people under an organized government rising against a foreign usurper, they were justified in stopping the movements of troops within their borders. But that their action was in accord with European military ethics cannot be pretended. From such a people it would be unreasonable to expect a strict adherence

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to civilized standards. Joubert himself was in command; and, after the action, his behavior was humane and considerate.

An incident which occurred a little later will serve to show what the Boer was capable of at his worst, when unrestrained by the authority of wiser heads. At the outbreak of hostilities, two officers, Maj. Elliott, paymaster of the 94th, and Capt. Lambart, of the 21st, were travelling separately, on duty, neither knowing that war was in the land. They were taken prisoners and held some weeks at Heidelberg. It was finally agreed that they should be conducted to the frontier and released on parole. They were accordingly placed in a Cape cart and marched, under an armed escort, to the nearest drift of the Vaal River, which forms a boundary of the Free State. The drift was reached after dark and during the progress of a violent thunderstorm. The river was in flood and obviously impassable. In reply to the remonstrances of the Englishmen they were forced at the muzzle of the rifle to drive into the torrent. But their escort was in no mind to give them even a chance of swimming for their lives. Before the deepest water was reached a volley tore through the canvas hood of the cart, and Elliott fell, shot, into the water. Lambart was unhurt and dived. The Vaal's flood is rapid; and, as he struggled through the current, at every lightning flash the Boer bullets, to use the words of his report, "lashed the water round him into spray." But he gained the Free State bank unhurt, and, unfortunately for Boer credit, lived to tell the tale.[1]

The force which had been got together at Newcastle was composed as follows, in round numbers:

Mounted squadron, 100 men. Artillery: N Battery, 5th Brigade; 10th Battery, 7th Brigade (garrison artillery from Cape Town); Mountain Division, manned by infantry. Infantry: 58th Regiment, 5 companies, 480 men; 3d Battery, 60th Rifles, 5 companies, 350 men; 21st Regiment (draft of recruits), 80 men. Naval Brigade, 100 men.

The assemblage was given the title of the Natal Field Force, and was placed under the command of Col. Deane, of the staff; Gen. Colley having the supreme direction. Deane was an accomplished officer and a man of attractive personality. It had been his fortune never to see a shot fired in anger.

Reinforcements from England and India were on the way; but,

[1] Mr. Rider Haggard has used this incident in one of his novels dealing with South African adventure. He places his hero and heroine in the position of the two officers mentioned in the text.

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before their arrival, a forward movement was decided on. The garrisons in the Transvaal were to be relieved without delay. These posts were each held by a few companies, and were believed to be well supplied, with the exception of that at Potchefstroom, which had been recently established, and was known to have provisions for a few weeks only. It may as well be said at once, to dismiss the subject of the garrisons, that they all held out successfully till the end of the war, with the exception of Potchefstroom, which surrendered at the eleventh hour, after a gallant defence marked by privation and suffering. None had much fighting to do, and no assault was attempted; the Boer attacks taking the form of sharpshooting at long range.

The road selected for the advance of the Natal Field Force lay through the passes of the Drakensberg. The highest point—where it crossed the summit of the divide, through a slight depression—was known as Laing's Nek. This point, though within the Natal border, was reported to be in the hands of the Boers. For the moment, therefore, it was made the objective point. Three days' march brought the little force before it; and a camp was established on a level plateau, on which was conferred the name of Mount Prospect. The strength of the Boer position was apparent at a glance. Its form was that of an irregular crescent, with the centre at the Nek. The left prong lay along a high, well-grassed ridge, which terminated in a round knoll or *kopje*. Its right was somewhat shorter, and rested against the base of a lofty and forbidding hill. It has become known in history as Majuba Hill. No part in the Boer position could be assailed from the front without a long and steep ascent over ground which afforded no cover to attacking troops. To its rear the slopes were gentle and extremely favorable for the rapid movement of mounted men.

It was known that we had to deal with a nation of marksmen; and it was made an object, therefore, to reduce to a minimum the part to be played by the rifle. The tactical policy adopted by the Natal Field Force was that of the charge. It was carefully impressed upon every officer that, as soon as he found himself in presence of the enemy, his business was to charge. There was some wisdom in the plan, but it failed from want of sufficient knowledge of the tactics it opposed. The Boer aim, it was hoped, would be less deadly in the face of a charging regiment; and it was not to be expected that men armed only with the rifle would hold their ground against an oncoming line of bristling bayonets. But a charge requires an objective point, and that is precisely what Boer tactics did not afford.

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On the morning of the twenty-eighth of January the little force left its camp standing and marched out to attack the position. The battle was opened in due form by the artillery; and the naval detachment was sent out with gatlings and rocket-tubes to make a feint in front of the Nek. It was pretty enough work: the erratic flight of the rockets is always spectacular; but, when the true attack was developed, the blue-jackets were withdrawn, with the loss of a few men. The point chosen was the left of the Boer position. The 58th, under Maj. Hingeston, was sent against the steep ridge in the curve of the crescent: the mounted squadron was despatched against its eastern extremity, where the slope was more practicable for cavalry. It was an occasion, one might have thought, well suited to the drill-book "attack formation" for infantry, in which the men had been trained since enlistment. But, for some reason, this was abandoned in favor of an untried method, which had the effect of keeping the regiment in close order, an easy mark for rifle fire. The point where the hill had to be climbed was a slight trough or depression in the slope, not sufficiently deep to protect the men from the flanks.

Col. Deane and his staff led the advance. The artillery from the plain below shelled the brow of the hill, making splendid practice, and at last bursting their shells directly above the front companies of the 58th. The mounted officers rode rapidly up, and the men struggled on without a halt through a thickening fire from right and left. The attack of the mounted squadron, under Maj. Brownlow, King's Dragoon Guards, was intended to be simultaneous with the crowning of the height by the 58th; and it was fairly timed. A fine view of its action was had by the men of that regiment, who, already three-fourths up the hill, could look back over their right shoulders, and downward on the movement of the cavalry. The squadron was seen to advance on the trot, wheel suddenly to the right, break into a gallop, and dash up the slope in two lines with swords drawn, the officers riding well to the front. Then the crest of the ridge before them became fringed with smoke, white in the bright sunshine. Here and there a horse went down, or broke from the ranks with an empty saddle. Another look, and the mounted men were in retreat. The charge had not been pushed to the shock.

The Boers, who had repulsed the charge, were now seen riding furiously along the ridge to the reinforcement of their comrades opposing the 58th. And the whole Boer strength became concentrated in defence of the single point now threatened. On the other

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side, the artillery was reduced to silence, for fear of inflicting injury on friend as well as foe. The top of the trough was reached, and the companies formed to their front, then the brow of the hill. Col. Deane shouted "Charge!" and rode forward. So deafening was the noise of rifle fire at close range that only those around him heard the order. He fell immediately, shot through the forehead; and all his staff fell with him. The fire became furious, almost unbearable. Maj. Hingeston went down; so did Capt. Lovegrove, acting field-officer. Words of command were yelled in vain: hearing was impossible. The men, making the best of their bad position, lay down and began firing, many of them, I fear, wildly and without aim, for the enemy was still invisible, hidden by the folds of the ground and in the rank grass.

This fighting continued for fifteen or twenty minutes; advance was impossible. To rise above the ridge was death; so the men lay doggedly, with bayonets fixed, their rifle-barrels hot. Many of them died where they lay. Finally Maj. Essex, of the staff, found a bugler, and ordered the "retire" sounded. The regiment fell back sullenly, with terribly diminished numbers. Of the mounted officers who led up the hill that day Maj. Essex alone came back; and his horse had been shot under him. Col. Deane and his two *aides-de-camp*, Lieuts. Elwes and Inman, as well as Maj. Poole, brigade major, were killed. Deane's body was found, in the words of the general order, "ten yards in front of the foremost man." Maj. Hingeston and Capt. Lovegrove, of the 58th, were wounded, the first mortally, the second severely. The regiment was brought out of action by Lieut. Jopp, a subaltern of three years' service. Its loss was 80 killed and over 120 wounded. Even from such a disaster a Victoria Cross was snatched. Lieut. Hill, of the 58th, made repeated attempts to carry down a wounded comrade, Second-Lieut. Baillie, and only desisted when Baillie was fatally shot in his arms. The Boer loss was fourteen killed and twenty-eight wounded. This was their heaviest list of casualties for any action during the campaign.

This fight at Laing's Nek necessitated a readjustment of our ideas of Boer cowardice, and it reduced a possibly exaggerated estimate of Boer marksmanship.

During the next ten days the Boers' boldness increased. They pushed their patrols to the rear of the Mount Prospect camp and threatened the communications with Newcastle. The telegraph wire was cut and the mails were intercepted. This insolence had to be

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punished. On the eighth of February, Gen. Colley left camp and took the road to Newcastle with five companies of the 60th Rifles and two guns of N Battery, 5th Brigade, Royal Artillery. He crossed the Ingogo without incident, but soon afterward found himself exposed to the dropping fire of an enemy, to whom the broken ground afforded ample cover. He resolved to halt and give battle, and he chose for his position an elevated plain. Its edges were marked by a ragged fringe of low boulders, behind which the infantry companies were disposed. The Boer fire came from all sides, but chiefly from the west, where the enemy appeared to be in some force; and it was against this quarter that the guns were brought to bear.

The ground here favored the tactics of the Boers. They fought in their characteristic style; each man apparently choosing his own position and his own line of approach. At that kind of stalking the British infantry was no match for them: they had to lie down and take their punishment. It was before noon that the action became general; and throughout the rest of that long day the Boer bullets searched keenly the surface of the plateau. The guns were fought with great gallantry, firing first with shrapnel, and afterward, as the range shortened, with case shot; but they were necessarily exposed, and an isolated man behind a rock is a poor mark for artillery. The gunners began to drop fast, and every now and then was heard the cry: "Two more drivers," as these non-combatants were called from their teams to take the places of the fallen men. Capt. Greer, who commanded the division, fell dead; but Lieut. Parsons, notwithstanding his own severe wound, fought his guns till he had not men left to work them.

A lamentable incident of the day's events was the exposure of I Company of the Rifles. It was intended that it should make an advance to a more commanding position; but Capt. McGregor, of the staff, who had the direction of the movement, was killed before it was completed. I Company advanced too far; and, when forced to halt to take some cover that afforded shelter for the front, its flank was exposed to a party of Boers concealed by some rocks to its right. Its members were picked off man by man. Lieut. Garrett, who commanded, was killed; and young Haworth, the ink on whose commission was barely dry, received three wounds, from which he died during the night. The company had gone into action some seventy strong; it came out with fourteen unwounded men.

Darkness brought relief to the hard-pressed force. The enemy

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drew off, and Colley resolved to retire to Mount Prospect. Leaving his wounded on the field with a medical staff, and abandoning one ammunition-wagon for want of horses to draw it, he made his way in the dense darkness toward the camp. The march was trying. The double ford of the Ingogo River had to be crossed. Torrents of rain had followed the cannonading of the day, as generally happens in South Africa. The stream was in flood, and waist-deep to the men. One officer, Lieut. Wilkinson, adjutant of the Rifles, was swept down and drowned. During that march, beside each of the two guns, now drawn by only four horses, there walked a non-commissioned officer, ready, with hammer and spike in hand, to do an artilleryman's last duty, if it should become necessary to abandon the guns. Of the eighteen men who had comprised the artillery division in the morning, these two only, the sergeant-major and a bombardier, were left. Both their officers lay on the field, one killed, the other wounded.

Without further fighting the camp was reached at dawn. The loss at the Ingogo had been nearly 150 in killed and wounded, rather more than a third of the force engaged. Colley, with an optimism difficult to excuse, claimed a victory; but it is true that the immediate object of the operation had been gained: the mail had been carried through to Newcastle. Colley could not have deceived himself. He was a man incapable of self-glorification; and one is forced to believe that his general order on the subject was dictated by what he conceived to be the expediency of the occasion.

The gloomy story of the Ingogo is relieved by some shining examples of personal gallantry. The sergeant-major of the Rifles, by his cool and sustained courage, won a mention in general orders, and was rewarded later with a commission. But all voices were loud in praise of the manner in which "Charlie" Parsons had handled his guns. Parsons had just "got his jacket" in the Horse Artillery; but the "wetting" of it was in a different fashion from that other of which Kipling has since sung. The hero of the Ingogo has won a later fame under Kitchener, as Governor of Kassala.

By this time the reinforcements from India had landed and were hurrying to the front; and a fortnight after the Ingogo fight the first arrivals reached Mount Prospect. They consisted of two squadrons of the 15th Hussars and the 92d Highlanders. As they marched in they made a beautiful sight. The fine physique and magnificent bearing of the 92d compelled admiration. They came in with pipe-clayed belts and shining accoutrements, a kind of military coquetry out of fashion

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among the troops in African service, with whom the pomp had long since yielded to the circumstances of war. The average length of service of the men was about ten years; and the world was still ringing with the fame of their victories in Central Asia, including that crowning achievement, Roberts' famous march to Kandahar. Gen. Sir Evelyn Wood, to whom South African warfare was as an open book, came too. He was Colley's senior in the army; but, as it was impossible to take precedence over the governor of Natal, he loyally agreed to serve under him. A conference ensued between the two generals, and it was arranged that no forward movement should be made till further reinforcements had reached the front. With this understanding, Wood returned to speed the troops along the lines of communication.

The story of Majuba Hill must now be told. Colley has been charged with a breach of the agreement with Wood. It is idle to quibble over the exact terms of a verbal understanding; but the fact is that Colley's occupation of the Majuba summit was not planned by him as an offer of battle. He thought that by seizing that commanding point he would compel, and probably without an engagement, an evacuation of the Boer position at the Nek. With the force that he employed he could not have expected to undertake a general action. That he should be called upon to act on the defensive never occurred to him as being possible. It was, then, a purely strategic operation. This must be borne in mind in order to understand what occurred. The conception was fine and, up to a certain point, ably carried out.

After dark, on the evening of the twenty-sixth of February, the force was paraded. It consisted of two companies of the 58th, made up to full strength from the shattered ranks of that regiment; one company of the Rifles; three companies of the 92d; and a detachment of the Naval Brigade. Not a man in camp outside of the staff knew its destination. It marched off into the night; but sunrise brought the flash of the heliograph from the hill.

The Majuba, like most South African mountains, shows at the summit a horizontal skyline. Its height is something like 2,000 feet above the Mount Prospect level. Its longest face turns toward the camp, and the slopes on that face are seamed with deep *kloofs*, dark with mimosa scrub; from the upper edge of which springs almost perpendicularly the crown of the mountain. The ridge along which lay the Laing's Nek position is really a prolongation of the northern spur of Majuba. The opposite spur drops steeply southward till it reaches a point about 100 feet above the plain; where it

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forms a wide and open nek connecting the Majuba with another hill; the latter being directly west of the camp. This nek I shall call O'Neill's Nek, from the farm-house just below it. The eastern side of the nek presents toward the camp an abrupt escarpment. It was up the southern spur that Colley's force had made its way. The climb was long and toilsome. The path at one point was so narrow that the men had to clamber, one by one, round a projecting rock; each man leaving his rifle with the next behind till he had gained a footing on the further side. Soon after dawn the last man had reached the top. The summit was found to have the form of a rock-rimmed basin. The detachment of the Rifles had been left to intrench itself on O'Neill's Nek.

The distance to the Boer camp was too great for effective rifle fire; but a few dropping shots announced the presence of the English on the hill. The enemy showed some signs of alarm, and the oxen were driven in, preparatory to inspanning. But, after a time, other counsels seemed to prevail; and presently skirmishers were sent out and approached within range. Some long-distance practice was kept up on both sides during the early morning—ineffectual practice on the English side. The Boers, on the other hand, sent some of their bullets home. It was the old story. The Boers had a definite mark, the skyline of the hill. The British saw here and there a puff of smoke, and knew that at that spot a Boer had found a sheltering rock. Commander Romilly, of the Naval Brigade, fell early. Not much was to be gained by this sort of thing. The men were withdrawn and allowed to rest; and at about eleven o'clock the desultory fire from the hill ceased altogether. For about two hours there was quiet; then the fire was resumed with fury. A few minutes later the English were flying headlong down the side of the mountain. The Boers had clambered over the edge and had swept the summit with a storm of lead, against which the troops had failed to stand. All cohesion was lost. The rout was complète and ignominious.

The Boers were not slow to follow up their advantage, and a considerable body of them was directed against the intrenchment on O'Neill's Nek. There were some among the distant spectators who hoped that here, at least, a stand would be made. But disaster was in the air. The garrison of the little fort fired a volley and retired at speed. A company of the 60th on the slopes of the Inquela threatened the right flank of the Boer pursuit. A squadron of Hussars attempted to cover the retreat; and the scarred guns of N 5,

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now under Capt. Vibart, advancing to the foot of the hill, threw shell after shell up the slopes. The Boer pursuit stopped short at O'Neill's farm, and the camp remained unmolested. They might well be content with the day's achievement. The general and some fifty officers and men lay dead on the summit of the hill; forty more were buried on the slopes or died of wounds soon after. The day's list of wounded numbered 130. The Boers gave their loss as one man killed, a statement which has never been contradicted.[1]

What had happened on the hill? I doubt if that story has ever been told in print. The accepted version is, that the Boer storming-party, under cover of the fire of sharpshooters from below, and protected by the nature of the ground, was able to creep up unseen to a point just below the crest, from which it carried the position with a rush. This theory was easily assumed by those whose knowledge of the ground was derived from the Mount Prospect side. As a matter of fact, the opposite slope was of a very different character. Though steep, it was not precipitous; and, though scarred by some gullies, it was comparatively bare of cover and entirely without any growth of timber. I have said that, during the forenoon, the men were withdrawn from the rim of the hill. That the enemy might plan an attack does not seem to have presented itself to any of the force as matter for rational speculation. The men were worn out by the long strain of the night march and by want of sleep.

The present writer stood beside the heliograph in camp when a message to the Queen was flashed from the hill. Its closing words were: "The operation a complete success." This was about eleven o'clock. There can be no doubt that, at that time, Gen. Colley viewed the operation as virtually complete. It only remained to devise means of getting long-range weapons up the hill, and the position at Laing's Nek would become untenable. We know that it would have proved feasible to place gatling guns and rocket-tubes there. The Boers had not yet shown any desire to fight at short range. If they had wished to close with English infantry, the plateau at the Ingogo would have offered an incomparably better opportunity than the Majuba Hill. It was the very security of his position, its isolation and extraordinary strength, that tempted Col-

[1] Maj.-Gen. Hector MacDonald, of the Egyptian Army, whose handling of his black Soudanese Brigade at Omdurman won the admiration of the military world, was then a sergeant in the 92d. I have seen it stated that he was with the detachment on the hill that day.

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ley to his destruction. One cannot but believe that, had the projected attack been observed when 300 yards from the top, it could have been repelled by a subaltern with half a company—I had almost said by a "corporal's guard." I believe that, when the Boers appeared on the hill, the surprise was as complete as if an enemy had climbed over the side of a ship in mid-ocean.

No word can be offered in excuse of Colley's extraordinary infatuation. In the light of the events, it must be declared highly culpable and all but incredible. It is only less incredible than the Boers' case. That any troops uncovered by artillery, no matter what might be their courage or what their skill in marksmanship, should have won their way up the exposed slopes of the hill, in the teeth of the fire from a vigilant enemy, without suffering enormous loss, is a military impossibility. That the steadfast men who, a month earlier, had taken their punishment at Laing's Nek with unbroken spirit, and those of that stalwart and undefeated infantry, on which Roberts had relied as on his right hand, should have yielded such a position, almost without firing an effectual shot, is only comprehensible in the light of sharp surprise and consequent panic.

This was the last action of the war. Reinforcements in overwhelming numbers were at hand; but Gladstone's government had declared for peace. An armistice was arranged under which supplies were sent to the beleaguered garrisons pending the conclusion of a treaty. And in March of the same year complete internal independence was accorded to the South African Republic; England retaining, under the title of Suzerain, a control of the relations of the new state with foreign governments.

The results of the war were many and far-reaching. Two results were immediate and unquestioned: British prestige in South Africa received a blow from which it has never recovered; and an end was put for all time to talk of Boer cowardice. The Boers had shown superb courage and a consummate skill in their chosen tactics. It must be said also that they invariably respected flags of truce.

The world has since formed a very high estimate of Boer skill with the rifle, and much that has been said in this article may appear to bear that out. The fact is, that the Boer is a fair shot, thoroughly familiar with his weapon, with the horse he rides, and with the country in which he fights. The slaughter of I Company, of the Rifles, at the Ingogo, was said to have been the work of three men; but they were favorably placed to enfilade the line of recumbent soldiers, and

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they had the best part of a long afternoon in which to do the execution. The comparatively small losses of the mounted squadron during its charge and retirement and the light losses of the 58th when falling back from the Nek, under a heavy fire, seem to show that the Boer aim at a moving mark was of little effect. On the day of Majuba, when a company of the Rifles and a squadron of Hussars, mixed with other fugitives, were retreating in open order, they were under the full fire of a large body of Boers lining the escarpment of O'Neill's Nek. The fire was so well sustained that a continuous flame from the muzzles of the rifles was visible, through the strong sunlight, at a distance of two miles. A rough calculation put the number of cartridges expended at 3,000. Yet only three dead men were picked up in the zone of that terrible fire.

The Boer's strong point is his mobility. He can ride to a chosen spot, dismount and drop his reins, fire a half-dozen shots, mount again, and go on to a fresh position. His horse is trained to "stand in the *veldt*," wherever he is left. His *commissariat* is of the simplest. A chunk of *biltong* in his pocket will supply many meals for himself, and the grasses of the *veldt* give abundant forage for his horse. His skill with the rifle has been acquired in pursuit of large herds of antelope. But he knows nothing of the finer skill of the deer-stalker. His favorite mark is a herd of two or three hundred *blesbok*. I have seen a Boer refuse to fire at a single animal, on the ground of a too probable waste of ammunition.

The Boer has not been without his uses in the world-scheme of civilization. Like the American backwoodsman, he has blazed the way for the march of progress. His bold and restless spirit has pointed out a path to the crowding nations of the old world. His have been the privations, his the toil, and his the peril. But his function is at an end; civilization presses at his heels; the land from which he drove out the Kaffir calls for a denser population. He must submit to absorption or perish. For the present he refuses to be absorbed. *Mene, mene, tekel upharsin.*

AN ENGLISH OFFICER WHO FOUGHT IN IT.

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THE CALIFORNIA QUARANTINE AGAINST CONSUMPTIVES.

DURING the last month many of our leading newspapers and medical journals have contained notes or editorials on the proposed quarantine against tuberculous invalids to be instituted by the State of California. The contemplated action on the part of one State to keep an American citizen from another from entering its territory, because he happens to suffer from a communicable chronic affliction—not from an acute contagious disease—has brought the tuberculosis problem to the very doors of every State of the Union. If one of our States should carry through such a measure, the question naturally arises as to what would be the ultimate result if other States follow the example. I have heard and read some rather unkind comments regarding this Draconian measure ; but before expressing an opinion it might be wise for us to study the conditions that caused the California authorities to enter the field of self-defence.

Several years ago I observed that the mortality from tuberculosis in Southern California was becoming gradually higher, even among the native population. This increase I attributed to the propagation of the disease by thoughtless or ignorant consumptive visitors, who did not realize that, by carelessly expectorating, they disseminated disease. These observations have been corroborated by others in widely different localities where the same conditions prevail. In answer to inquiries on the subject the Secretary of the New Mexico Territorial Board of Health, Dr. F. H. Atkins, wrote to me as follows : "Like other communities much resorted to by consumptives, we are year after year discovering cases of phthisis occurring in New Mexico among people born here, or quite recently come here and healthy, and in many of them there has been a definite exposure to the infection of the tubercle bacillus." The chief health officer of Nice, Dr. Ballestre, wrote : "It is a well-known fact that in Nice, and to a still greater extent in Mentone, the number of consumptives has grown enormously since phthisical patients have frequented these resorts."

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In view of the facts presented in these letters and of the increased mortality from tuberculosis shown by the statistics of Southern California can any one blame the statesmen if they think that, by stopping the migration of consumptives into their State, they can stop the spread of tuberculosis?

If we turn now to the economic aspect of the question we shall find an additional reason for the contemplated exclusion of tuberculous invalids from California.

In the "New York Medical Journal," for May 7, 1899, there appeared a very able article by Dr. Leland Cofer, entitled "A Suggestion to Philanthropists." Dr. Cofer tried to prove that a great advantage would be derived from the formation of a colony of consumptives in California, to be recruited from the Eastern States, and supported by our wealthy, public-spirited citizens. In an article that appeared a few months later in the same journal, I endeavored to show how impractical Dr. Cofer's scheme would be, and of how little benefit to the sufferer as well as to the community. The various Utopian suggestions of Dr. Cofer came from a generous soldier's heart, but were hardly in accord with the experience and principles of modern phthisio-therapy.

My reasons were manifold for objecting to send a poor clerk, with perhaps a wife or a mother depending on him—to take Dr. Cofer's example—to California. A few of these reasons I shall give in their medical, social, and economical bearings. The climate of Southern California is not essential to cure a case of pulmonary tuberculosis in its primary stages. There are many climates in our Eastern States, localities with moderate elevation and pure atmosphere, where, by judicious hygienic and dietetic treatment, the vast majority of such patients can be cured. A patient whose pulmonary tuberculosis may have been cured or arrested in Southern California has to fear a new outbreak of the disease on returning to our Eastern shores and on taking up his old mode of life. A patient cured in his home climate has a much better chance to remain cured when returning to active life. As to the prospects of a clerk's earning his own living "in the neighborhood which has proved so beneficial to him" after a sojourn of a year or two in the colony, I believe I may speak with some little authority, having myself lived and practised a number of years in Los Angeles.

The popular feeling in Southern California is not at all in favor of making that part of our country a colony for consumptives. There is hardly any profession, trade, or calling which is not more than amply

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represented in Southern California by healthy men; and the number of tuberculous invalids or recovered consumptives seeking employment is at times simply appalling. Employers in that section of the country, if they have work to offer, will always prefer a thoroughly sound man. During my year as *interne* of the Los Angeles County Hospital I stood at the bedside of dying physicians, ministers, lawyers —one a former statesman—clerks, and representatives of all trades, who had come to Southern California in the various stages of tuberculosis, all hoping to recover and then to make a comfortable living. The majority, however, had not sufficient means to be idle long enough and to devote all their time to the purpose they came for; namely, to get well. After their little funds were gone they sought work. Sometimes they found it, more frequently they did not. Owing to the lack of care their disease progressed till they landed in the county hospital; and from that moment they became a burden to the community.

The State of California does all it can for its own poor, and I think we should not blame its authorities for refusing to take care of the thousands of consumptive poor who come there from other States. In an editorial comment on my reply to Dr. Cofer the distinguished editor of the "Southern California Practitioner," one of the leading medical journals of the Pacific Coast, says:

> "Though this section is climatically the ideal resort for invalids, it is available for curative purposes only to those who have sufficient means to comfortably support themselves in forced idleness. Therefore we would emphatically indorse the warning of Dr. Knopf that Southern California is not the proper place for the tuberculous poor." [1]

I have remarked that I do not blame the California statesman if he seeks to stop the spread of tuberculosis in his State by whatever legislative measures he thinks best. Nor can the California municipalities be blamed for protesting against taking care of the consumptive poor from all parts of the Union. But I would suggest that the California statesmen consult with the progressive physicians and sanitarians of the Pacific Coast, to see if the desired result could not be obtained as well by some less Draconian laws.

Pulmonary tuberculosis is not a contagious, but only a communicable, disease. The contact *per se* of the consumptive individual does not convey the disease. It is now well known that it is mainly the tuberculous expectoration, which, when dried and pulverized to dust, constitutes the main danger of infection. The means to prevent infection

[1] "Southern California Practitioner," August, 1898, page 311.

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from tuberculous expectoration or saliva—expectorating only in proper vessels, spittoons, and pocket flasks, proper use of handkerchiefs during coughing, etc.—are now also universally taught.

It is absolutely demonstrated that a tuberculous patient, if he takes proper care of his expectoration, does not constitute any danger to his fellowmen. In *sanatoria* and hospitals exclusively devoted to the care of consumptives it is of the rarest occurrence for an attendant to contract the disease ; the hygienic precautions being so thorough. It may indeed be said, that in these houses for consumptives one is less liable to contract consumption than outside of them.

It is the right and the duty of California—and of every other State—to make and enforce rigorous laws against promiscuous expectorating and all other possible sources of propagating tuberculosis from man to man or from beast to man. The proper authorities of California should vigorously enforce these laws, especially those against promiscuous expectorating ; and I should not blame them if they told the incoming invalid from another State, no matter in what station of life he might be, that if he willingly violated the health ordinances, or if, through carelessness with his tuberculous expectorations, he endangered the health of his fellow-citizens, he would be expelled from the State. I do not think that in this enlightened age, when we know the nature of tuberculosis, any government should prevent a conscientious tuberculous invalid from entering its domain, if he gave evidence that he would not become a burden to the community, and if he promised to comply with the sanitary laws.

What may be the outcome of this movement on the part of the authorities of California, and whether other sanatory regions will follow California's example, cannot be foretold. But to all the tuberculous invalids who had thought of migrating to the Pacific Coast in search of health, I would say : Do not think that your doom is sealed because California does not want you. Address yourself to a competent physician, and he will be able to direct you to some favorable spot in your own State, or, perhaps, in a neighboring State, where, if you follow implicitly your doctor's directions, you may have the same chance of getting well as if you had gone thousands of miles away.

I am not going to mention any of the many beautiful, healthy, and more or less elevated regions in our Eastern States, suitable for the treatment of consumptives, for I could not do justice to all of them. But I will say that, in the treatment of pulmonary tuberculosis, I do not consider climatic conditions of prime importance. In the treatment of

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consumptives proper hygiene, fresh air and plenty of it, proper food, and constant medical supervision are the essentials. Mountainous regions where the air is particularly pure and free from dust are, however, a valuable aid in the restoration of the patient's forces. Happily, these conditions can be obtained nearly everywhere. There are few States in the Union where there are not some elevated regions free from dust and *miasmata* and severe winds, and where patients, under proper guidance of a physician, or in a special institution, could recover from a moderately advanced tuberculous disease. But a lesson to our Eastern statesmen, physicians, sanitarians, and philanthropists has certainly been taught by the legislative measures contemplated by the State of California. It has become evident that each State will henceforth have to take care of its own indigent consumptives.

In an article on the "Tuberculosis Problem in the United States," which appeared in the "North American Review," for February, 1899, I spoke of the duties of the individual State toward its consumptive poor. I endeavored to demonstrate how a sufficient number of *sanatoria* in each State, devoted to the care and treatment of this class of patients, would tend to decrease to a minimum the danger from infection from man to man, and at the same time to decrease to a marked degree the mortality from tuberculosis. I also insisted that the first great step toward the prevention of tuberculosis in man should be to stamp out the disease in cattle, and that the Federal Government, having equal jurisdiction over all the States and Territories, would alone be competent to do this work effectually.

Pulmonary tuberculosis can be treated and cured in all climes, and let it be said again and again, consumption is as much a curable as it is a preventable disease. The transmission of tuberculosis from man to man can be prevented by State and municipal regulations—by laws concerning promiscuous spitting, proper disinfection, etc. Societies for the prevention of tuberculosis are a great aid to the sanitary authorities in helping to educate the public. The providing of *sanatorium* and hospital accommodation for all the consumptive poor, taken from the tenement districts, where they constitute veritable centres of infection, would, of course, be one of the greatest preventive means. In nearly all our States, there is an urgent need of such special institutions ; and without *sanatoria* for the consumptive poor adults, maternity *sanatoria* for tuberculous mothers, and seaside *sanatoria* and schools for tuberculous and scrofulous children, we shall make little progress in fighting this disease.

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Not only are the curative results in these institutions surprisingly good, but there are additional advantages arising from their existence. The hygienic education of the inmates of a *sanatorium* for tuberculous patients is of vast importance. On the return home from such an institution the cured consumptive will constitute a hygienic factor in his community. He will not only have learned the hygiene concerning tuberculosis, but the value of cleanliness, sobriety, and a regular mode of life will also have been impressed upon him.

We have so many poor consumptives that the State or municipality cannot easily take care of them all. Private philanthropy must come to their help in the creation of a sufficient number of institutions. In European countries the importance of this matter has long been recognized. At the head of the Society for the Creation of Popular Sanatoria for Consumptives in Germany stands Her Majesty, the Empress. In England, a similar society has for its honorary president the Prince of Wales. The Emperor of Austria, the King of Sweden, the young Queen of Holland all take a deep interest in the *sanatorium* movement for the consumptive poor.

It is sad, yet it is true, that, as compared with some European countries, we are very much behind in the work of combating tuberculosis. We need a department of public health in Washington, where a rigorous war against bovine tuberculosis should be instituted. To further all the movements that would tend to stop the propagation of consumption among man, a national society for the prevention of tuberculosis, in all its forms, with branches in States and cities, would, in my humble opinion, be a great step toward the eradication of the great white plague. Such national associations exist in England, in Germany, in Canada, in fact in all civilized countries except our own. Yet the few existing local societies in Philadelphia and Chicago have already made their beneficent influence felt, by instructing the public and by agitating the question of *sanatoria* for the consumptive poor in their respective States. When we shall have a concerted action of the governments and the people of all the States and Territories of the Union, there will be no need of any quarantine against consumptives.

S. A. KNOPF.

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DOES COLONIZATION PAY?

DOES colonization pay? This is a question which Americans are now asking. Another question which thoughtful, fair-minded people are asking is: Does colonization prove advantageous to the people of the territory colonized? To these questions the best answer is provided by the experience of those other nations that long ago reached the point where such a step was found necessary.

Colonization does not have to-day the purpose that it had a century ago, nor does it always have the same objects to-day. Indeed, the purpose of various countries in this regard differs so widely that the term "colonization" is frequently misleading, and may, at the present time, be considered in some cases inappropriate. Strictly speaking, colonization, in accordance with its purposes, may be divided into three classes: (1) in its earlier, and in some of the later, applications it meant the planting of groups of citizens of the mother-country in new territories, with the purpose of establishing for them and for their descendants permanent homes, and adding to the group in large numbers from the home population as it grew congested; (2) in other cases, "colonization" has been chiefly an attempt at conquest and rapid gain, by seizure of accumulated wealth or sources of wealth; (3) in still other cases, the purpose has been more especially to secure new outlets for the products of the mother-country and new sources of supply. Where the purpose of colonization is accompanied by, and made coincident with, an honest effort to extend to the people of the country thus controlled the benefits of the experience and training of the mother-country, by giving to them a stable and improved form of government and by developing their resources, the advantages to the colonizer and to the inhabitants of the territory colonized become mutual.

The last-mentioned system is the latest development in these lines, and requires a modification of the original meaning of "colonization," if the term is to be applied. In certain cases, where the climate and physical conditions of the country occupied are similar to those of the country taking control, and there are still unoccupied tracts of territory, the colonization of the first class may yet be followed. But

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these are now comparatively few, except in the cases of already well-established and self-sustaining colonies which have practically passed from under the wing of the mother-country. As a result, most of the colonies, so-called, now established, and actually maintained, by the leading countries of the world, are of the third class.

That the relation, temporary or otherwise, which the United States is now establishing in the Caribbean and Pacific belongs more especially to the third class than to either of the others is evident. The population of Puerto Rico averages two hundred and twenty-five per square mile ; of Cuba, thirty-eight per square mile ; of Hawaii, sixteen per square mile ; and of the Philippine Islands, sixty-seven per square mile—an average density for the grand total of sixty-one inhabitants per square mile. The average density of population in the United States, Alaska excepted, is twenty-five per square mile; so the average density of population in the area over which we are extending more or less control, for a period of greater or less duration, is already greater than in the United States as a whole. The climate and the conditions of life of these islands differ so widely from those to which our people are accustomed, that probably comparatively few of our population would be inclined to seek permanent homes in them. If we are justified, therefore, in entering upon closer relations with any or all of these islands, it must be with a view (1) to finding an enlarged market for our products and new sources of supply for our requirements ; (2) to extending to the people the advantages which we now enjoy of stable government, free schools, roads, railways, and telegraphs ; (3) to supply them with the articles which they need and do not produce, and with increased markets for their products ; and (4) to helping them to advance in intelligence, in wealth, and in the capacity for self-government.

In determining, then, whether a relation of this character will be advantageous both to the United States and to the people of the territory affected, we must consider the developments which have attended undertakings of this character by other nations.

The three modern colonizing powers from whose experience we are able to draw lessons are Great Britain, France, and Spain. Germany has so recently begun to colonize that her experiments have not yet sufficiently advanced to justify us in including her colonies in this study. Great Britain is the largest and by far the most successful of the colonizing powers ; France comes next in order ; Spain's colonial experiments are generally conceded to have been unsuccessful.

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A study of these three groups of colonies shows that all those of Great Britain, except Canada and Australia, like those of France and Spain, were established with a view to their commercial usefulness, rather than as permanent homes for any considerable percentage of the population of the governing country. Great Britain's principal colonies, named in the order of their imports from the governing country, are: India, Australasia, British Africa, Canada, British Asia, and British West Indies. Canada absorbs less than 7 per cent of the goods which England sends to her colonies, but sells to England vastly more than she buys from her. Australasia absorbs 26 per cent of Great Britain's exports to her colonies, and supplies 31 per cent of Great Britain's imports from the colonies. Canada has become practically self-supporting in the way of meeting her own requirements, and those which she cannot meet she can secure more conveniently from the United States. Therefore, as a market, she is of comparatively little value to the United Kingdom. For many years Australasia will continue to be an important market for British manufactures: she also supplies raw materials to Great Britain. Of the total commerce of Great Britain with her colonies, a large proportion is with those established and maintained because of advantage to her commerce.

The points to be considered in determining the somewhat mercenary question, "Does colonization pay?" as viewed with regard to the interests of the colonizing country, are: (1) the market that the colonies afford for the goods which the colonizing country has to sell, and whether control gives to the mother-country a larger share of their market than she would have without that control; (2) the supplies the colonies are able to furnish for use in the mother-country; and whether the purchase of these supplies from the colonies proves more advantageous to the mother-country than if they should be purchased from other parts of the world; (3) the advantages, if any, which accrue to the native population of the country controlled.

The commercial ambitions of countries which have reached a stage of development to warrant them in entering the field of modern colonization are, then: (1) to enlarge the markets for their manufactures; (2) to obtain reliable supplies of the materials which their people must consume for food or use in manufacturing; and (3), in obtaining them, to give some share of the profit of production or transportation to the people of the home country. With these cold business considerations in view, let us study, for a moment, the commerce of the countries

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whose modern colonial experiences seem likely to prove instructive along these lines.

In 1897, Great Britain's exports of domestic produce and manufactures amounted to $1,135,970,000, of which $391,274,000, or 34.4 per cent, was sent to her colonies. Of this amount $146,916,200 was yarn and textile manufactures; $88,275,000, metals and manufactures thereof, including machinery; $29,269,800, apparel and haberdashery; $23,650,000, articles of food and drink; $12,789,000, coal, coke, and fuel; and the remaining $90,000,000, chiefly manufactured articles. Here is a market found by Great Britain in her colonies, during 1897, for nearly $400,000,000 worth of goods, all of which are the product of labor; and all are of a kind for which the producers and manufacturers of the United States are now seeking a market. In yarns and textile goods, in metals and their manufactures, including machinery, in clothing, in other manufactures of all sorts, in articles of food and drink, and in coal and other fuel we are now able to compete with Great Britain, and to send our manufactures into her colonial, and even into her own home, territory, in competition with her manufacturers. All of the above-mentioned sum, it will be observed, with the trifling exception of $23,650,000 from foodstuffs and $12,789,000 from coal and other fuel, may be included under the general term of manufactured articles; thus making Great Britain's sales of manufactures to her colonies alone, in 1897, 40 per cent greater than our total sales of manufactures to the entire world in that year.

"But," the objector will say, "would not Great Britain have made these same sales if the countries had not held colonial relations with her, especially since the tariff laws of her colonies at that time made no discrimination in favor of products from the mother-country?" Let us see. In 1897, the total imports of the world, exclusive of the United Kingdom, were $8,172,000,000, of which $962,000,000 was taken by the British colonies; leaving the total imports of the non-British world during that year $7,210,000,000. In that year, Great Britain's exports of domestic and foreign merchandise to the non-British world amounted to $1,005,000,000, or, in round terms, 14 per cent of the total amount which the latter imported. The total importations of the British colonies in that year were, as already indicated, $962,000,000, of which the United Kingdom supplied $391,000,000, or, in round terms, 41 per cent of their total purchases. Even to the United States, an English-speaking country from which her purchases are enormous, she supplied in that year less than 22 per cent of the total imports.

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It will thus be seen that, in considering the question, the colonizing country, in this case, sells to her colonies a much larger percentage of what they buy than she is able to sell to countries with which she does not have this relation—even under the most favorable conditions, such as those which exist in the trade relations of the United States and Great Britain. A study of the exports of France to the whole world and to her colonies shows even more strikingly the advantage in her colonial trade over that with other parts of the world. The imports of the non-French world, in 1897, amounted to $9,249,000,000, of which $863,116,000, or 9.33 per cent, was supplied by France; the total imports of the French colonies were $111,157,000, and of this $68,685,000, or 62 per cent, was supplied by France. In 1897, Spain's exports to the whole world amounted to $208,382,000, of which $71,962,000, or 35 per cent, went to her colonies.

A further study of the commerce of 1897 shows that the total exports of the non-British world were in round terms $8,245,000,000, of which the United Kingdom took $1,726,500,000, or about 21 per cent; the total exports from the British colonies being $800,250,000, of which the United Kingdom took $457,000,000, or 57 per cent. Of Great Britain's imports of $457,000,000 from her colonies, in 1897, $168,350,000 was for food products, and $249,350,000 for material for use in manufacturing—articles which she was compelled to buy, and which she was thus able to buy in larger proportion from her own colonies than from other parts of the world. How much her own people were benefited by her giving so large a proportion of her trade to her own colonies cannot be statistically determined; though the estimate made by distinguished British writers that the investment of British capital in the colonies to-day is more than $2,000,000,000 shows that a considerable percentage of this benefit must have accrued to her citizens, directly or indirectly. To the profits must be added those of the carrying trade between the United Kingdom and her colonies, which is almost exclusively in the hands of her vessel owners.

In attempting, then, to answer the question, "Does colonization pay the colonizing country?" we find that Great Britain sells to her colonies 41 per cent of their imports, and to the non-British world less than 14 per cent of its imports. In 1897, the total imports of the colonies amounted to $962,000,000. Had she supplied to them merely the percentage of their purchases which she was able to sell to other parts of the world, the total would have been, in round numbers, $136,000,000, instead of $391,000,000, which she actually did supply. The

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figures indicate that the colonial relationship brought her from the colonies a market for merchandise valued at fully $250,000,000 in excess of that which she would have sold had they belonged to the non-British, and especially the non-English-speaking, world. Most of this accrues to the benefit of home labor, since, as shown above, the articles exported to the colonies are chiefly manufactures. On the other hand, she expended among them for the articles which she was compelled to buy from some part of the world about $460,000,000, by which she must have materially benefited not only her people residing in those colonies, but those of her home citizens having in the colonies the enormous investments indicated in the figures above quoted.

To answer the question whether the people of the territory colonized are advantageously affected, the inquiry must be conducted along broader lines than those of mere commerce. The questions which would naturally determine the benefit, or the injury, which colonization brings to the people of the territory colonized are : (1) whether a more permanent and stable form of government is given them ; (2) whether control by the colonizing country brings with it improved internal conditions; (3) whether the producing capacity of the country is increased ; (4) whether commercial intercourse with other parts of the world is quickened ; and (5) whether enlarged intercourse with the outside world proves advantageous.

That local improvement along all these lines has followed successful colonizing enterprises, especially in the tropical and sub-tropical territories, is well recognized. Those who have observed the developments in the past few years in various parts of the world cannot doubt that advantages have come in at least a majority of the cases. No one who has followed the course of events in Africa and witnessed the developments which, under various nations, have brought order out of disorder, peace among warring native tribes, the opening of the great rivers, the construction of roads, the building of railways and telegraphs, the introduction at initial points of educational facilities, and the development of commerce and general intercourse with the world can doubt the advantages to the people occupying the territory ; while the vast supplies of tropical products, and of precious stones and metals, which Africa is now contributing to the commercial world, show that the advantages are reciprocal. The improvements now made under French rule in Indo-China—the building of roads and of railways, the introduction of modern civilization and business com-

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munication—illustrate in another part of the world the advantages to the population of the territory colonized.

Probably the most striking example, however, of the advantages accruing to a population from a government supplied by experienced people of other blood and climate is in the case of India. From the very beginning of British control there came a gradual cessation of the bloody and devastating wars—between native rulers or by foreign invaders—which had sacrificed so many lives and destroyed cities and homes from the earliest history of that great and densely populated peninsula.

With this, and especially with the direct British control of the last half-century, came other improvements. One of the first improvements undertaken was the construction and maintenance of roads. "No native prince in India ever built a road," says a distinguished writer on the history and conditions of that country; and when the British Government assumed control, it found communication between the various sections almost impossible, by reason of an absence of routes of travel over which vehicles could pass. Now there are 150,000 miles of roads in India maintained by the government, of which no less than 35,000 miles are "metalled," or macadamized, as the term is used in this country. In 1854, there were in India twenty-one miles of railway, and in 1899, 22,000 miles—uniting province with province, city with city, penetrating the native states, bringing them into closer relationship with the territory under direct control of the British Government, carrying the native products to the seaboard, and, in turn, bringing to the natives the products of other parts of the world and proving especially useful in distributing supplies in famine years.

In 1897, the net earnings of the railways in India were 130,000,000 rupees; being an average return of 5.04 per cent on the capital invested. The number of passengers carried in 1898 was 150,374,114. In nearly all cases these railways are the result of investment of British capital, induced by a guarantee of interest made by the government of British India. In 1856, there were in all of India only 753 post-offices and letter-boxes; in 1898 there were 27,984. In that year the postal system handled 476,683,000 pieces of mail, the revenue of the postal service being 18,323,000 rupees, and the charges 13,271,000 rupees; supplying a service of which Sir John Strachey, who has spent nearly thirty years in India, says: "There is no country where the rates of postage are so low or the offices better managed." In addition to the

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postal service there are over 50,000 miles of telegraph lines, which, in 1898, handled 5,713,000 paid messages.

Still another of the great internal improvements which has proved of inestimable value to the people in times of great distress is the system of irrigating canals. Sir John Strachey says: "Altogether, there are in India, under the management or supervision of the British Government, some 36,000 miles of canals and other works irrigating nearly 14,000,000 acres." "These canals," he adds, "yielded, in 1876, 5½ per cent on their cost of 320,000,000 rupees, and this falls far short of the annual value of the crops they protect. In the single year of 1891–92, the estimated value of the produce of the land irrigated by works constructed by the Government was more than 540,000,000 rupees."[1] The value of these great irrigating works can only be appreciated when it is remembered that, in certain years of drought, the area which they supply would be absolutely non-productive, and that, in a single year of drought, the value of the crops grown far exceeds the entire cost of the canals which supply the territory.

Another equally interesting and important result of British control in India is found in the increased educational facilities now offered to the people. The system of educating the masses began in 1854, when the Department of Public Instruction was established; the government allowance for the purpose being, in 1858, but 394,000 rupees, increased by 1897 to 35,250,000 rupees. In 1897–98, the number of schools in India was 150,000, with an attendance of 4,285,000 pupils. Of these 106,527 were public schools, with an attendance of 3,706,000.

Regarding the commercial advantages which have followed the establishment of order, the creation of highways and methods of internal transportation, the construction of irrigating canals, and the general stimulation and activity, it may be said that the exports of merchandise from British India have grown from $64,784,000, in 1848, to $346,000,000, in 1897; making India now the sixth exporting country of the world. The increased earning and consuming capacity of the people meantime is indicated, in some degree at least, by the fact that the imports have grown from $41,842,000, in 1848, to $240,000,000, in 1897.

Regarding the standing army, in India, of 225,000 men, of which we hear so much, when we consider the service it performs, and its

[1] The exchange value of the rupee ranged between 47 and 50 cents prior to 1870; since that time it has steadily declined, and averaged in 1898–99, 32.4 cents, while the bullion value in 1898–99 was about 21 cents.

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relative size as compared with the area and population of the territory in which it maintains order and prevents possible invasion by other nations, it dwindles into comparative insignificance. Of its 225,000 officers and men, one-third are Europeans and two-thirds are natives of India. When this number is compared with the population of the Indian Empire and Feudatory States, it will be found that there are less than 250 Europeans and 500 natives employed in the military service for each million people. The entire expense of the army—whether natives or Europeans, privates or officers of high rank—is borne not by the Government of the United Kingdom, but by the Indian Government.

On the subject of expense of the Indian colony to the home Government, it is not improper again to quote Sir John Strachey, whose lifetime of experience in India, in various branches of the public service, renders him a valuable authority. In his recent work upon India he says: "India has become one of the greatest powers of the world, and, so far as her finances are concerned, she has no dependence upon Great Britain. This country (United Kingdom) does not contribute a single farthing to the maintenance of her Indian Empire. For all the work that she undertakes for India, whether it be for the British army by which India is garrisoned, the charges for the India office at home, or for any other service, great or small, she exacts full payment." In another chapter of the same work he shows that, though the gross revenues of India in 1857 were only 320,000,000 rupees, and are now 964,420,000 rupees, of which sum by far the largest item is derived from the land revenues, and though the land revenue has, in fifty years, more than doubled, the rates are actually lower, because of the enlarged area of cultivation and the increase in value of the product of the land. "There has never been, so far as my knowledge goes," he says, "a government in India which has taken so small a share of the profits of the soil as ourselves, and this is true of every province in British India."

The development of modern commerce and of the carrying trade makes the interchange of commodities and natural products between the great sections of the globe much greater to-day than ever before; and every year's developments add to the facilities for quick and inexpensive interchange. The older and well-developed countries, especially those in a temperate climate, require three classes of articles from other parts of the world: (1) foodstuffs of a class which they cannot produce at home; (2) materials for use in manufacturing; and (3)

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certain lines of manufactured articles not convenient to be produced at home. On the other hand, the newer countries, especially those in the tropical zone, where manufacturing has not developed, require chiefly two classes of imports: (1) foodstuffs of the class which they cannot produce at home; and (2) manufactures which they cannot produce.

The well-developed countries of the temperate zone require sugar, coffee, tea, silks, tropical fruits, spices, fibres for use in manufacturing—all of which are produced in the tropical countries freely and with less expenditure of labor than they could be produced if grown in the temperate zones. On the other hand, the articles which the tropical countries require—breadstuffs, meats, clothing, manufactures of iron and steel, machinery, and the various classes of household and business conveniences which modern ingenuity offers them—are all produced abundantly and cheaply in the temperate zone, and by the very people who want and require the products of the tropical countries.

Thus the great colonizing countries, all lying in the temperate zones, are dependent upon territory lying near the equator for certain lines of products which they must have; while the tropical countries are dependent upon those of the temperate zone for other and equally important lines of products. It is probably due to this fact, coupled with the indisposition of the residents of tropical climates to establish permanent governments and to develop their territory, that the drift has been so rapid during this century toward the control of tropical territory by governments located in the temperate zone.

To put it in homely form, and with no intention to put it offensively, it may be said that the disposition of modern progressive nations lying in the temperate zone is to control "garden spots" in the tropics, where there may be produced, under their direction, and through the operation of their accumulated wealth, the articles of tropical growth which their citizens require, and, in return, to furnish to the people occupying those garden spots the foodstuffs and manufactures which they require; to develop for them their territory by the construction of roads, canals, railways, and telegraphs, and by the establishment of schools, newspapers; and to give them the benefit of other blessings of civilization which they have not the facilities for creating.

Now let us apply the foregoing facts to the United States and to the islands which the events of the past year have brought into closer relationship with us. The United States has become a great manufactur-

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ing, as well as producing and consuming, nation. Her manufacturers supply the home market and send abroad more than a million dollars' worth per day of their product. In doing this, however, they require constantly increasing quantities of tropical materials; and the people who are coöperating with them in developing the higher stages of her progress, whether in the factory, on the farm, in the mines or forests, require also a constantly increasing quantity of tropical productions. In the year ending June 30, 1899, the importation of fibres for manufacturing, for which we depend largely upon the tropical countries, amounted to over $20,000,000, against $12,000,000, in 1897; while manufactures of fibres, of which we imported in 1897 over $32,000,000 worth, fell, in 1899, to $25,000,000.

Hides and skins amounted to $42,000,000, in 1899, and $28,000,000 in 1897; india-rubber for use in manufacturing, in 1899, to nearly $32,000,000, against less than $18,000,000 in 1897; and raw silk amounted to over $32,000,000 in 1899, against less than $19,000,000, in 1897—figures indicating, in some degree, the increased demand of our manufacturers upon tropical countries for the articles which they must have in manufacturing. The demand of all classes upon the tropics for foodstuffs is equally great; the sugar importations in the fiscal year 1899 being, in round terms, 4,000,000,000 pounds, against 2,762,000,000 pounds a decade earlier. In 1899, the importations of tropical fruits and nuts amounted to over $18,000,000; and the coffee importations of 1899 were 831,000,000 pounds, against 578,000,000, in 1889; and of cocoa, the importations, in 1899, were over 35,000,000 pounds, against less than 17,000,000, in 1889. In many other articles of tropical production, such as licorice, dye-woods, gums, feathers for ornamental purposes, vegetable oils, spices, rice, tea, and tobacco of high grades, the demand is permanent and constantly increasing. All, or most of, these articles these islands can produce, while on the other hand they now import, under normal conditions, $100,000,000 worth of foodstuffs and manufactures of the class which we produce and desire to sell. They will double or treble that demand when internal transportation and invested capital will develop within them new areas of production and consumption, and stimulate those already existing.

O. P. Austin.

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WAGNER'S PERSONALITY.

WAGNER'S operas and music-dramas have never been so popular in this country as now. Although for many seasons past they have figured prominently in our opera-houses, and although selections from them have proved the most potent attractions that could be offered to concert-goers, his popularity this season promises to be even greater than in the past. New York will again have repetitions of the "Ring of the Nibelung" given without cuts, as at Bayreuth; a special Wagnerian cycle is planned, at which all his works from "Rienzi" to "Parsifal" (the latter as a Sunday oratorio) are to be performed; and in addition there will be other performances of his works throughout the season. From present indications his name will also figure more frequently than ever on concert programmes. It has seemed to me that some description of the personality of this man, whose works are so constantly before the public, would be of interest, especially as it has been much misunderstood.

In the fierce contest which for nearly fifty years waged around Wagner his personality was not spared. His enemies, not content with pouring vituperation upon his music, assailed his private life and character. Yet his widow and son worship his memory; and the only one of his intimate friends whose reminiscences of him have been published—Ferdinand Praeger—has much to say of his personal worth, and draws a charming picture of the composer's home life with his second wife, Cosima Liszt.

In spite of all his enemies may have said, or indeed still say, the mutual devotion of Wagner and Cosima and his love for his son Siegfried have become almost historical. The visitor to Wahnfried, Wagner's house at Bayreuth, may see, inscribed over the entrance, the following lines:

Hier, Wo Mein Wähnen Frieden Fand,
"Wahnfried," Sei Dieses Haus Von Mir Genannt.

Wähnen means longing, or rather the strenuous striving, amounting almost to madness, of an artist for the fulfilment of his aspirations and the triumph of his art. "Wahnfried" means rest from longing,

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and the lines over the entrance to Wagner's house signify that there at last he found the repose of soul and the respite from the world for which he had yearned. Fate, relenting toward the genius who had been fighting his way for half a century, had sent him the complement to his nature—a wife who loved him for himself and at the same time was in full sympathy with his aspirations. Cosima comprehended the man and the artist.

Praeger speaks of the high spirits with which at times Wagner seemed fairly to bubble over. During a sojourn in Bayreuth in 1882, when "Parsifal" was produced, I myself had the opportunity to observe this exuberance; for I often saw and heard Wagner. One does not forget the first sight of a great man ; and the occasion on which I first saw Wagner is indelibly impressed on my memory. He gave a banquet to his artists, the evening after the final dress rehearsal of "Parsifal," at a restaurant high up on the hill and near the Wagner Theater. At one end of the large dining-hall the floor was slightly sunk below the level of the rest. The long table for Wagner and his guests was set on this lower portion. The public was admitted to dinner in the other and larger part of the hall, so that whoever cared to pay the comparatively small price of the dinner was privileged to watch the proceedings below. This part of the hall was simply crowded; not a seat at any of the tables was unoccupied; and long after the tables were full many other people vainly sought admission.

The artists had arrived and had been waiting for some time when the door swung open and Wagner entered rapidly. On his arm was Cosima ; and following them were his father-in-law, Franz Liszt, and young Siegfried Wagner, who looked like a miniature presentment of his father. Hardly had Wagner entered when he dropped Cosima's arm, and with short, quick steps hurried toward his artists; giving each in turn, from the highest to the lowest, a warm handshake, and smiling and laughing as he passed from one to the other. The wait for him had been tedious, but the moment he entered every one's spirits went up. His own exuberance was contagious.

After he had greeted his artists he looked up to where we were sitting, straining our necks to see all that was going on. Exclaiming "Da ist ja auch das Publicum !" (Hello, there is the public !) in a half amused, half contemptuous tone of voice, he dashed up the short flight of steps which led to where we were, and in a moment was hurrying in and out among us, stopping to shake hands here and there with a friend. He was closely pursued by Judith Gautier, a daughter of Thé-

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ophile Gautier, who seemed to want to obtain some favor from him which he did not wish to grant, but which he was too good-natured to deny outright. Occasionally he would half turn around and laughingly say something to her, and then keep on his way while she persistently followed. He finally reached the steps, dashed down them, and was again in the holy of holies among his artists, whither she did not dare follow him.

At last Wagner seated himself, and the banquet began. On either side of him were Cosima and his father-in-law, Liszt. Seeing them in such close proximity it was easy to note the remarkable resemblance between Liszt and his daughter. They had the same strongly marked, aquiline features. At the same table was a *protégé* of Liszt, the pianist D'Albert, then a very youthful celebrity, but since become a famous pianist.

But, of course, I was most interested in looking at Wagner himself. I frankly confess that when he first entered and came forward with quick, short, almost mincing steps, I was greatly disappointed in his personal appearance. He was diminutive in stature, and his attire was spick and span—something which in a genius seems to me unpardonable. Every genius should be at least a little dishevelled in order to come up to the public's idea of what he ought to be. If I remember rightly Wagner had on a black cutaway, light gray trousers, and immaculate lavender kid gloves. Over one arm was flung a light overcoat, and in his hand he carried a brown derby. He certainly did not at that moment realize the portrait that I had formed of him in my mind's eye.

But when he was seated and I had an opportunity to examine his features more closely, I could not help being impressed with the marvellous brow, which seemed fairly to protrude with intellect and the power of applied energy. Then, as he talked, now with his wife, now with Liszt, occasionally flinging remarks across the table to Materna, Winckelmann, Gudehus, Scaria, or some of the other artists, his eyes sparkled with good humor, and his features were wonderfully mobile. At times, as if too full of vitality to remain long quiet, he would jump up from his chair and make the round of the table, with some pleasant verbal quip for each of his friends.

I had always supposed that after-dinner speaking was a horror confined to the United States. But, after the cigars had been lighted one of the local dignitaries of Bayreuth arose and began a long and uninteresting speech full of lavish laudation of Wagner. Another fol-

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lowed, and administered one of the most effective sleeping potions which it has ever been my fate to partake of—more effective even than that which Sieglinde administers to Hunding. But of a sudden every one was wide awake. *Wagner was on his feet and speaking.* Then it was I mentally conceded that, after all, after-dinner speaking was not such a bad habit.

Wagner's speech was as brief as the others had been long. He patted papa-in-law Liszt on the shoulder and spoke feelingly of him as one of the first who had befriended him, and as the man who had given to him his precious wife. I shall always remember the flood of emotion that he poured into the words "die theure Gattin." He concluded with an eloquent tribute to his singers. After thanking those who had contributed to the fund for the "Parsifal" productions, he concluded: "But after all I am more indebted to my devoted, self-sacrificing artists; for art is not created by money, but is made possible only by artists." The singers who were gathered at Bayreuth in 1882 were a noble band, and passionately devoted to the great composer.

Indeed, Wagner's master mind seemed to control everything and everybody at Bayreuth. I once wrote that near the Wagner Theater was an insane asylum with cells and strait-jackets for any anti-Wagnerites who were apprehended in Bayreuth, and a penitentiary with a special lockup for small boys who were caught whistling anything but leading motives. But this really conveys an idea of how completely everything at Bayreuth was Wagnerized and how thoroughly it was dominated by Wagner's genius. During one of the "Parsifal" performances I chanced to see Wagner's head protrude from behind a bit of scenery. He was not trying to observe how closely the audience was following his work, but had his eyes on the stage. After the performance Materna explained to me that at rehearsals Wagner had not only indicated the positions on the stage which he wished the various characters to take, but had actually made little chalk marks in order to be sure that his directions were followed. He was so anxious that they should be properly observed that at the moment I saw him he had incautiously thrust his head too far forward from the wings.

Combined with his restless energy Wagner had many lovable traits, not the least of which was his affection for animals. When he was a boy he witnessed the killing of an ox by a butcher. He grew so excited that he would have rushed upon the man had not his companions forcibly led him from the scene. For a long time afterward he was

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unable to touch meat. To dogs he was devotedly attached. Whoever visited Wahnfried in 1882 rarely failed to notice the stately St. Bernard, Wotan, between whom and its master such mutual affection existed that, when in the following February Wagner's remains were laid at rest in Bayreuth, the dog refused to be comforted and could not be led away from the tomb, it becoming necessary to even feed it there.

Wagner and the various dogs he owned were almost inseparable companions. He delighted to engage in long conversations with them, himself supplying their answers, "infusing into these much of that caustic wit which philosophers of all ages and countries have so often and powerfully put into the mouth of animals." Wagner was fond of quoting Weber's remark to a disobedient dog: "If you go on like that you will at last become as silly and as bad as a human being." In Boulogne, where he arrived in the late thirties, after a visit to London, a huge Newfoundland dog appeared with him so constantly in the streets that he became known as "le petit homme avec le grand chien."

When the composition of "Tannhäuser" was nearing its completion, while the ill success of his works outside of Dresden had made him morbid and despondent, the love of a few friends and that of his dog was almost his only solace. He often remarked that his dog had helped him compose "Tannhäuser." When he was seated at the piano singing boisterously while composing, the dog would leap from its place at its master's feet on to the table, peer into his face, and begin to howl. Then Wagner would shake the animal's paw, exclaim, "What, it does not suit you?" and add, quoting from Shakespeare, "Well, I will do thy bidding gently."

While an exile in Zurich he would take his dog, Peps, with him on his long walks. Sometimes he would declaim violently against his persecutors. Then Peps, the "human Peps," as Wagner called him, would bark and snap as if aiding his master; returning after each sally to be praised and petted. "Peps," he once remarked, "has more sense than all your wooden contrapuntists."

In 1855, when Wagner was conductor of the London Philharmonic, he found that a large Norwegian dog belonging to Praeger was kept in a small back yard. He expostulated against what he called the cruelty of such close confinement, and made it a point when he went out on his daily constitutional to take the dog with him. This duty he continued to perform during his stay in London, notwithstanding

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the fact that he was often tugged hither and thither by the spirited animal, which rejoiced at its semi-freedom. Every day while in London Wagner bought a supply of French rolls, and went to the small bridge over the ornamental water in Regent's Park, to feed the ducks as well as a regal swan, of which he used to say that it was fit to draw the chariot of Lohengrin. "The child-like happiness, full to overflowing, with which this innocent occupation filled Wagner, was an impressive sight, never to be forgotten. It was Wagner you saw before you, the natural man, affectionate, gentle, and mirthful."

In one of his first letters to Praeger, when he had returned to Zurich after this season in London, he asked if Praeger's cat still had its bad cold. Shortly afterward, his dear Peps died in its master's arms, "passing away without a sound quietly and peacefully. I cried incessantly, and since then have felt bitter pain and sorrow for the dear friend of the past thirteen years, who ever worked and walked with me."

Praeger relates that Wagner almost came to blows in the London streets with a grocer who had cruelly beaten his horse; and one of the latest literary efforts of his life was an essay against vivisection. Certainly a man who throughout his life showed in so many ways his love for dumb animals must have been innately affectionate and tender; and if he ever showed himself otherwise, it was because of the irritability created by the fierce attacks of which he was constantly a victim.

Though naturally affected with the colossal egotism which seems to be part of the make-up of every intense creative genius, he was not lacking in gratitude. His letters to Liszt teem with expressions of the most affectionate recognition of all that composer had done for him; and I have already quoted his grateful reference to Liszt at the Bayreuth banquet. He fairly worshipped the memory of his stepfather Geyer; and when late in Wagner's life one of Geyer's long-forgotten little comedies was played for him at a private performance, as a birthday surprise, his delight was almost childish. His mother, "liebe Mütterchen," as he always called her, he adored; and he poured his love for her into the exquisite music of "Siegfried" whenever the young hero of that music-drama alludes to his mother. All Wagner's references to his mother were, according to Praeger, "of affection, amounting almost to idolatry."

Nor did Wagner's egotism warp his judgment of the composers of the past. When he was a conductor at the Royal Opera in Dresden,

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he successfully revived interest in Gluck's and Mozart's operas. The ultimate appreciation of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was largely due to performances of that work under Wagner's baton, and to the analysis of the symphony which he wrote. When he proposed to give it in Dresden opposition was raised on account of the expense. Accordingly, he went to all the trouble of borrowing the orchestral parts from Leipzig, learning the symphony by heart to avoid the outlay for an orchestral score, and inducing choir boys from neighboring churches to assist in the performance.

Nor are there lacking instances of warm-hearted sympathy on Wagner's part toward those who were unfriendly to him. The attitude of Berlioz toward Wagner was decidedly frigid. Yet when Wagner was invited in London to meet a French musical amateur in the confidence of the Emperor—the idea being that something might thus be accomplished toward awakening the latter's interest in Wagner's music—what did Wagner do? He implored the Frenchman to persuade the Emperor to espouse Berlioz's cause.

Wagner was a man of great physical as well as mental activity. I have spoken of the quick manner in which he moved about among the guests at the Bayreuth banquet. It was characteristic of the man. When he was a schoolboy he threw a schoolmate's cap high upon a steep roof. The lad began to cry. This was more than Wagner could stand. At great risk to his life he climbed the roof, threw down the cap to the boy, and then, letting himself down through the manhole into the garret, hid there to escape the reprimands of his teachers, who appeared incensed at his recklessness, though, probably, they secretly admired it.

Praeger, who went to visit him in Tribschen in the summer of 1871, when Wagner was sixty years old, has a capital anecdote to relate of the composer's buoyant, active temperament, which years had not lessened. They were sitting on an ottoman in the drawing-room, when the composer of the "Ring of the Nibelung," "Tristan," and the "Meistersinger" suddenly rose and stood on his head upon the ottoman. Just then the door opened and Madame Wagner entered. Seeing her husband in this curious position, she hastened forward exclaiming, "Aber! lieber Richard! lieber Richard!" Quickly resuming his natural position Wagner explained to her that he was not insane, but was merely proving to his friend Ferdinand that he could stand on his head at sixty.

Coupled with this activity was great determination. When he was

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in London his crossing of crowded thoroughfares was so intrepid as to border upon the reckless. He would go straight across; leaving it to the drivers of the various vehicles which were bearing down upon him to take care that they did not run over him. This recklessness is interesting as a physical manifestation of his mental attitude toward his art. No man ever dared more in art than Wagner. The energy with which he went to work to produce the Ninth Symphony in Dresden, as already related, was characteristic. He did everything thoroughly and with the full conviction that he was bound to succeed.

Ill success only seemed to inspire him to greater energy. The return of his scores of "Rienzi," the "Flying Dutchman," and "Tannhäuser," unopened by managers, resulted in his working with redoubled zeal upon "Lohengrin." When he saw no immediate prospect of securing the production of that opera, he began the composition of an art work even more advanced—the "Ring of the Nibelung." It is a matter of history that nearly a quarter of a century went by before that cycle saw the light of a theatre. Meanwhile he composed "Tristan" and the "Meistersinger." There is no greater example of energy in the history of art than Wagner. If some one could be induced to count all the musical notes and words that Wagner wrote during his life, the figures would be found to be simply appalling.

Even when his cause had been espoused by the King of Bavaria the spirit of independence, fostered by his immense creative force, did not forsake him. Once after an interview with the King, in which they disagreed, he remarked to a friend, who cautioned him to be more diplomatic, "I have lived before without the King, and I can do so again." He was thoroughly absorbed in his art. Everything seemed to him to centre around it. When preparations were under way for the production of his "Ring of the Nibelung" at Bayreuth, he wrote to Praeger: "It appears to me that the whole German Empire is created only to aid me in attaining my object."

In view of the length of most of his works, it is interesting to note that even as a boy he planned things on a large scale. While at school his passion for Shakespeare led him to write a drama which, he himself says, was a jumble of "Lear" and "Hamlet," and was so long that all the characters having died, he was obliged, in the last act, to bring their ghosts on the stage in order to keep the play going. Wagner's unbounded admiration for Shakespeare continued throughout his life. When he first entered Westminster Abbey he immediately

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sought out the Shakespeare monument; and the first Christmas present he made to Cosima, after she became his wife, was a costly edition of Shakespeare's works, which he imported from London.

When his energy was not expended in his art work, it found vent in many humorous sallies. I have already related how he stood on his head for Praeger. That was physical humor. But he was also fond of joking. He once quoted his teacher's remark that he would never learn to play the piano. "But," he added, "I play a great deal better than Berlioz." The waggishness of this remark lies in the fact that Berlioz could not play at all. During a rehearsal of the "Rienzi" overture in Dresden the trombones were too loud. Instead of rebuking them angrily, he said, with a laugh: "Gentlemen, we are in Dresden, not marching around the walls of Jericho." After "Tannhäuser" was brought out a German composer of little note, named Chellard, said, that the "Song to the Evening Star" was wrongly harmonized, and suggested certain harmonies which should be substituted for those employed by Wagner. When Wagner was among friends it was one of his favorite diversions to seat himself at the piano and sing the "Song to the Evening Star" *à la* Chellard.

Just as this buoyancy and fondness for amusement were the result of his wonderful activity of mind, so also this fundamental trait of his character made him an enemy to all sham. The Duke of Coburg had composed an opera which he asked Wagner to score for him; offering him a sum equivalent to a thousand dollars, besides a two months' residence in his palace. The offer came to Wagner when he was in comparatively needy circumstances, but he promptly declined it. He did not care to clothe another's work in his orchestral garb. To a tailor who expressed surprise that he wanted silk for the back of his waistcoat, because it was not seen, Wagner exclaimed: "Not seen! sham, sham in everything, is the tendency of the age. Whatever is not seen may be shabby, provided the exterior be richly gilded."

It is pleasant to know that, through many years of strife, Wagner had his indomitable will-power, his love for his friends, and his spirit of humor to fall back upon. It is even more pleasant to reflect that he lived to see the art work of his life triumphant, and to know of a happy home. During those latter years of his life a wonderful sense of peace seems to have pervaded his being. "God make every one happy. Amen!" is a sentence in one of his last letters to Praeger. What more fitting answer to the detractors of his personal character?

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